Music & Ritual

Bridging Material & Living Cultures

Raquel Jiménez, Rupert Till and Mark Howell, eds.

Publications of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology, Vol. 1

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Jiménez Pasalodos, Raquel / Till, Rupert / Howell, Mark (eds.)

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Introduction to the Series

Inspired by an innovative roundtable at the 12th Congress of the *International Musicological Society* held in Berkeley, California 1977, the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology was formed in the late 1970s by a small group of interested ethnomusicologists and archaeologists. It was formally founded on the occasion of the 26th World Conference of ICTM's parent organisation, the *International Folk Music Council* (IFMC), in Seoul, Korea 1981.[1]

The Study Group has a prolific history of publications. Roughly estimated, one hundred monographs and many hundreds of articles have been published over the past three decades. The majority of the articles are dispersed through a broad variety of scientific journals. Only a small selection of articles and a lot of reports shared among early study group members were included in the bulletins and journals of the early ICTM Study Group for Music Archaeology, namely the handmade *MAB – Music-Archaeological Bulletin/Bulletin d'Archéologie Musicale* (1984-1986, 6 unpublished vols., ed. by Catherine Homo [later Homo-Lechner]) and the *Archaeologia Musicalis* (1987-1990, 6 vols., ed. by Homo-Lechner), writings which are nowadays difficult to access. Other articles are compiled in special issues and special sections of journals, such as in *Acta Musicologica* (vol. 57, 1985), the *World of Music* (vol. 49-2, 2007), the *Yearbook for Traditional Music* (vol. 41, 2009), or Music in Art (vol. 36, 2011). In addition, between 1986 and 2000 a large number of papers have been published in conference proceedings of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology.

In this brief introduction to the forthcoming series, I will discuss the publishing record of the group, and thus give a brief introduction to its editorial publishing history, and the background of the forthcoming series. The ground-breaking papers from the initial roundtable ('Music and Archaeology') were published by Richard L. Crocker and Ellen Hickmann within the *Report of the 12th Congress, Berkeley 1977* (ed. by Heartz/Wade 1981: 844-865). Three years later, the abstracts from the second roundtable of the newly founded Study Group, held at the 27th World Conference of the ICTM in New

1 The four founding members were Ellen Hickmann, John Blacking, Mantle Hood and Cajsa S. Lund.

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York 1983, were published in the *Music-Archaeological Bulletin* (vol. 1, 1984),[2] while the papers of this meeting were published by Ellen Hickmann in *Acta Musicologica* (vol. 57, 1985: 1-50).

Three scholars played a leading role in the development of the group: Ellen Hickmann, Catherine Homo-Lechner, and Cajsa S. Lund. Graeme Lawson also contributed substantially by organizing the 1st international meeting of the Study Group in Cambridge/UK. The first four international conferences of the ICTM Study Group—of which three were entitled 'International Meetings' according to the ICTM nomenclature of the time—were organized and subsequently edited by the above-mentioned scholars (Lawson 1982 [summary and abstracts in the unpublished Music-Archaeological Report No. 6, see also the *MAB,* vol. 1]; Lund 1986-1987; Hickmann/Hughes 1988; Homo-Lechner/Bélis 1994).

In the prolific early phase of the Study Group (1980s and early 1990s), members also organized roundtables at other international conferences. However, research such as this were seldom afforded opportunities for publication, with the exception of a roundtable at the *XIIe Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques* ('Music and Plays in Ancient Cultures'), the results of which were edited by Danica Staššiková-Štukovská and published in the 4th volume of the *Actes du XIIe Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques* (ed. by Pavuk 1993).

The proceedings of the 4th International Meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology in Paris (ed. by Homo-Lechner/Bélis 1994), and the 5th International Meeting in Liège, Belgium (ed. by Marcel Otte 1994), belong to the "francophone period" of the Study Group in the early 1990s, and reflect the great impact that music archaeology had in the French-speaking world. These volumes completed the initial phase of the early ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology (what Cajsa Lund has called its 'golden era'), which helped to establish a new scientific discipline at the cross-section between musicology, cultural history, and the arts.

After this period, although the study group was still active, a far lesser volume of further research was published. A 6th International Meeting was held in Istanbul (1993), the 7th conference was in Jerusalem (1995), and the 8th conference in Limassol, Cyprus (1996). Only a few music archaeology papers from this period, those focussing on stringed instruments, were published in *Studien zur Musikarchäologie* (ed. by Hickmann/Eichmann

2 This volume was still called AMB – *Archaeo-Musicological Bulletin*.

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2000), the 1st volume of the series of the new International Study Group on Music Archaeology (ISGMA).

In 1998 Ellen Hickmann and Ricardo Eichmann founded the ISGMA in order to develop within the field a greater focus on archaeological perspectives, and inspire more archaeologists to participate. The Study Group sank into oblivion until 2003, when Julia L. J. Sanchez (an archaeologist, n.b.) re-established it on the initiative of Anthony Seeger. The revival of the Study Group began with meetings in Los Angeles, California (2003), and Wilmington, North Carolina (2006). These were followed by a highly successful joint-conference in New York (2009), the 11th of the Study Group since its foundation in 1981 (also the 12th Conference of the Research Center for Music Iconography). The 12th conference was then held in Valladolid, Spain (2011), which was the largest meeting of the ICTM Study Group so far, followed by the 13th symposium of the Study Group held in Guatemala 2013.[3]

From a publishing point of view, the revival of the Study Group was difficult. From the first two meetings only a selection of articles focussing on the pre-Columbian Americas were published in a special issue of the *World of Music* (vol. 49-2, 'Music Archaeology: Mesoamerica', ed. by Both/Sanchez 2007); from the joint-conference in New York only a few articles were published in *Music in Art* (vol. 36, ed. by Blažeković 2011).

To provide better opportunities for publication, it was decided to establish a new series, *Publications of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology.* This first volume, *Music & Ritual: Bridging Material & Living Cultures,* represents the first proper publication in book-form from the ICTM Study Group since the year 2000. The 2nd volume of the series, *Crossing Borders: Musical Change & Exchange through Time,* is already in preparation (Both/Stöckli, forthcoming).

The volumes of this new series are anthologies of peer-reviewed articles, to ensure the highest standards of scholarly content. Also, the volumes are focused around a specific topic, rather than consisting solely of research presented at symposia of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology, as was the case in the earlier history of the group. This approach is necessary because research on music-archaeological topics has dramatically diversified over the past decade,[4]

3 The international meetings are now entitled 'symposia' according to present ICTM nomenclature.

4 Particularly due to the success of the ISGMA, the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology, the MOISA Society (International Society for the Study of Greek and Roman Music and its Cultural Heritage) and the ICONEA (International Conference of Near Eastern Archaeomusicology).

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developing beyond a small circle of specialists to encompass an international body of experts from numerous disciplines.

The present series will bring together the world's foremost researchers on a particular subject. In reflecting the wide scope of music-archaeological research world-wide, the volumes aim to draw in perspectives from a range of different disciplines, including related newly emerging fields such as archaeoacoustics, but particularly encouraging both music-archaeological and ethnomusicological perspectives, as in the early days of the Study Group.

Arnd Adje Both, General Editor of the Series
Chair, ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology

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Both, Arnd Adje / Stöckli, Matthias (eds.)
Forthcoming *Crossing Borders: Musical Change & Exchange through Time.* Publications of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology, vol. 2. Ekho Verlag, Berlin.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

This volume is the outcome of the 12th Conference of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology held at Valladolid University in September 2011. Scholars from different disciplines (archaeologists, ethnomusicologists, music archaeologists, musicians, instrument makers, art historians, philologists, anthropologists) and students came from all over the world to discuss implications for the study of music and ritual in archaeological contexts, and the possibilities of interpreting the findings using ethnographical analogies or ethnoarchaeological work. The majority of presentations were of exceedingly high quality. However, instead of presenting the results in a conference proceedings volume, we have decided to create a work that would be an accurate representation of the research in music archaeology today. Consequently, along with papers chosen from attendees of the conference, we have gathered other scholars who have contributed to our current state of knowledge of ritual in music archaeology.

This book is the result of a collective effort by those who collaborated in the organization of the conference (Arnd Adje Both, María Antonia Virgili, Raquel Jiménez, Mark Howell, Juan P. Arregui, Enrique Cámara, Claudia Rolando, Placido Scardina, Nelly Álvarez, Ruth Rivera, Lizmari Pérez), the *Diputación de Valladolid, the Museo de los Instrumentos Musicales* of Luis Delgado and the *Fundación Joaquín Díaz,* the scientific committee (Arnd Adje Both and Raquel Jiménez, with advices by Ellen Hickmann and Alexandra von Lieven), the participants who attended the conference and contributed with their papers and discussions to a better understanding of music and ritual, the editorial board (Raquel Jiménez, Mark Howell, Rupert Till) and the reviewers (the editors, Arnd Adje Both, John C. Franklin, Timothy Moore, Don Niles) who have graciously given their time to achieve what we think is the first comprehensive study of ritual in music archaeology. For the technical review cared Jacek Szczepanek and Małgorzata Chodyna.

Finally, we must thank the Government of Castilla y León and the University of Valladolid for the funding of the conference. The edition of the volume was made

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possible through funding by the Spanish Ministery of Economy *(Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad)* within the framework of the program *Acciones Complementarias a Proyectos de Investigación no Fundamental.*

We want to dedicate the volume to Roberto Melini (1960-2013), musician and renowned music archaeologist. We had the pleasure of sharing the Valladolid conference with him and his recent passing does not diminish the enduring enthusiasm he expressed for musics of the past, his sympathetic support of colleagues, or the enormous achievements he made in our field.

Maria Antonia Virgily Blanquet, Juan Peruarena Arregui and Raquel Jiménez Pasalodos

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Introduction to the Volume

Ritual Music and Archaeology
Problems and Perspectives

Music has a significant role in rituals in present and past societies all over the world. It enhances some of its crucial aspects, such as sensory alteration, memorization of codes and actions through repetitive sounds and movements, emotional stimulation and identification with a group. It is also a way of memorizing myths, increases the experience of the sacredness and for some cultures, it is the privileged language of communication with the gods (see Franklin, this volume). Music archaeology has to deal then with the archaeology of ritual in order to understand this important connection. Ever since Catherine Bell published her *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* in 1992, archaeologists have used her definitions as a theoretical framework for the archaeology of ritual. One of Bell´s main statements was the importance of ritual as a human action, not only as a reflection of religious beliefs or symbolic systems (Bell 1992; 1997). Even if there is no consensus among scholars on a definition of ritual, as human action it has certain characteristics that define it (Bell 1997: 138-169): formalism; traditionalism (as a tool of legitimation through the near perfect repetition of activities from an earlier period); invariance (the precise repetition of a set of actions); rule-governance (a strict set of rules that have to be followed); sacral symbolism and performance (usually involving highly visual imagery, dramatic sounds, and other sensory stimulations such as incense or other fragrances, drugs and food, so that participants are pulled into a complex sensory experience, deliberately framing it to be other, sometimes described as an altered state of consciousness).

Rituals are often repetitive and recurring actions that in some cases leave material traces, creating patterns visible in the archaeological record. This characteristic

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is crucial to understand why in archaeology there is a tendency of identifying ritual places and objects, as ritual behaviours are sometimes more traceable than non-ritual ones (Kyriakidis 2007: 9). In music archaeology, this is especially true. Music-archaeological evidence related to ritual practices has been more commonly identified than not-ritualized evidence, such as that associated with functional routine activities or ubiquitous music. This does not mean that ritual music had a dominant role in past societies, that other types of music did not exist, or even that there was a clear distinction between the two types, but ritual practices have been more commonly observed by archaeologists through their effect on material culture (including organological remains and iconographies) and in textual evidence. This may in part reflect the likelihood of high status activity being more prominent both in the archaeological record and in the priorities of archaeologists. Furthermore, ritual musical instruments were often made of valuable and durable materials that have better survived the passing of time. This abundant record of music and sound-related finds associated with ritual contexts requires an in depth reflection on the relationships between ritual, music and sound, the interaction of all these elements and the possibilities for music-archaeological interpretations, all of which will be treated in this volume.

Many examples of work in this field are focused on remains of musical instruments or iconographies with music and dance depictions. In order to understand such examples, we must first deal with the question of identification of ritual musical practices in archaeological contexts. There are several clues that may indicate a ritual function, at least during part of an object´s life: it may be purposefully destroyed or disposed of in wells or pits; be associated with sacral symbolism both in iconographies and in the instrument itself; appear in ritual contexts such as temples or graves; be made with expensive or hard to find materials or have required expert craftsmanship. There is sadly no simple way to ensure such conclusions are correct. Musical instruments that may seem purposefully destroyed may have been missed or discarded, such as the findings of clay drums from al-Andalus in wells or pits (Jiménez/Bill 2012: 23). When they appear in graves or temples, the ritual function of the sound tool may be difficult to deduce, as we can see in the case of the clay Vaccean rattles studied in this volume by Sanz Mínguez *et al.* In examples such as these, we tend to think that when an object not linked with economic or "practical" activities requires a great deal of time to manufacture, and it is made with valuable

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materials, it may have had a significant cultural role within a society. This assumption permits us to give a ritual meaning to instruments that appear in secondary positions, lack a detailed archaeological context or do not have information other than the object itself. But this fact could be also responding to other cultural needs that we are not able to comprehend. For instance, if we define ritual as a human action linked with religious beliefs or spiritual needs, we can see that even if music contests in Ancient Greece were dedicated to gods, the social meaning of this music competition was not only a religious one, and the complexity of the instrument manufacture transcended the ritual goal.

Ethnographic examples may show that, very often, musical instruments become ritual objects with magical properties, sometimes restricted from any use different from such ritual purposes, and only being able to be played by certain members of the community. On other occasions, it is everyday objects that are used in rituals. Interpretations based on the assumed functions of artefacts can be deceptive. Among the Apaches, for instance, the medicine man would accompany his healing chant with percussion sounds made with an iron kettle filled with water and covered with a cloth (Bourke 1892: 462). These practices would not leave any trace in the archaeological record, but we could suggest such a sonorous use of certain objects if found in ritual contexts. We may even suggest the presence of ritual musical practices on the basis of the appearance of materials associated with them, even when the instruments are no longer present, such as in the paper in this volume by Salius. It is also important to remember that the function of objects is not static. It does not ultimately reside in its form, but in the use created by human action. The same instrument can appear with ritual and non-ritual uses, such as the shell trumpets introduced in this volume by Sáez Romero and Gutierrez López.

Some of the papers in this volume deal with other types of archaeological information, also relevant for the study of music in ritual, such as the archaeoacoustics of archaeological contexts. In the case of architectural ritual spaces, for example Chavín de Huantar (Kolar) or the Byzantine church of San Vitale (Knight), archaeoacoustics can study to what extent sound production was relevant in the configuration of rituals and how the architectural spaces complimented acoustic requirements. Moreover, these tools can help to reconstruct past aural experiences during rituals, providing phenomenological interpretations of the archaeological record. In the case of the study of La Valltorta gorge, by Díez Andreu and García Benito, the opposite applies,

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the acoustical study of certain spaces can let us propose a ritual use of architectural structures such as rock shelters.

Nevertheless, the reconstruction of the uses and function of music and sound in ancient rituals is often only possible thanks to extra-archaeological information, such as textual evidence, ethnographic accounts or the search for ethnographic analogies. Such an interdisciplinary approach, common in music-archaeological studies, is well reflected in these pages, where different scholars from various regions and periods share their research experiences, problems and perspectives when facing the interpretation of musical remains linked with past ritual activities. Textual evidences, both emic and etic are, when available, the best complement for the interpretation of the archaeological record, as we can see in the chapters by Furniss, Castaldo, López-Bertran and García Ventura, or Sáez Romero and Gutiérrez López. In the case of certain cultures, philological sources are abundant and archaeology is a ratification of the textual interpretation, as in the case of Franklin´s contribution. However, when lacking this kind of sources or having little textual data, ethnoarchaeology and ethnographic analogies reveal themselves as the key methodological tools of the music archaeologist.

Archaeology is based to some extend on the universality of human cultures, and "interpretation is founded and ultimately depends upon analogy" (David/Kramer 2001: 1). Some ethnographical analogies proposed are from cultures directly linked with the materials studied, both from ethnohistorical or ethnographic sources. For instance, Gudemos uses both the description of musical practices in the Spanish chronicles and her own ethnoarchaoelogical work with contemporary shamans. Rainio uses ethnohistorical accounts and ethnographic data to study a 14th Century Saami drum hammer. In the work of Rees, he analyzes musical iconographies taking into account Native American ethnographical and ethnomusicological accounts. Blažeković uses analogies of contemporary Serbian and Vlach funerary dances in order to shed more light on late medieval dance representations on Bosnian gravestones. Finally, Tamboer presents an interesting ethnoarchaoelogical and ethnohistorical study of the contemporary use of winter horns in the Netherlands, in order to propose an interpretation of a Medieval finding. Such a direct approach is not possible in periods without ethnohistorical or literary sources that are deprived of surviving direct cultural heirs, such as European Prehistory. This is where the interpretation of past ritual music becomes more difficult and speculative, as problems are

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raised when transferring symbolic meanings from one culture to another. Kolltveit's approach discusses the difficulties of such ethnoarchaoelogical work. Even if we can find a large number of plausible ethnographical and historical analogies for bronze lurs, a definitive reconstruction of these Bronze Age rituals may never be possible.

The study of ritual is not exclusively focused in recreating a past activity or achieving the understanding of a symbolic system. It is a relevant human action that has multiple layers of meaning. Through different methodological approaches, the contributors to this volume will not only propose interpretations of the use of music within certain rituals, and the resultant symbolic implications, but will also reflect on its social and cultural functions. For instance, ritual is very often considered as a way of perpetuating and legitimizing the elites (Fogelin 2007: 55-71). As a form of materializing ideology, ritual sound artefacts can be controlled and manipulated, and a ruling elite can limit access to the knowledge of playing them, or even touching them. This prohibition enhances long lasting cosmological views that legitimize the ruling elite.[1] Gudemos will propose how the music specialists that performed in Wari rituals were probably the shamans themselves, and thus were connected with the ruling elites.

Music is also very important for the construction of individual or collective identities. In the contribution by Furniss, she proposes a particular musical instrument as a symbol of elite cultivated gentlemen. Another important issue is the possibility of identifying changes and continuities in ritual systems, involving acculturation and assimilation processes, in the music archaeological record. Castaldo offers an interesting interpretation of iconographical sources from Southern Italian tombs, identifying the transmission of Hellenic elements alongside the continuity of indigenous ritual activities. Rainio shows how the confrontation of traditional religions and new Christian beliefs can lead to new ritual musical and symbolic practices. Ritual music is often linked with the experience of collectivity, which ensures social cohesion and the maintenance of lineage, a topic discussed by García-Ventura and López-Bertrán. The capacity of musical remains for transmitting hidden cultural meanings, not traceable in other types of material culture, make its study a necessary step for achieving a better comprehension of past cultures.

1 A curious example of these kind of power-related practices can be found among the Kwoma people in New Guinea (Whiting 1941:131). The highest position within the cult is achieved by a man of high rank that has also taken the head of an enemy. At this stage, it is revealed to him that the rhythm that he has always heard at the Noksy ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female in whose honour the ceremony is held, but a sound made by a huge water drum.

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The significant presence of music in past ritual contexts shows an important relationship that should not be disregarded by archaeologists, as it could lead to a more detailed understanding of ritual practices identified in the material record, especially when musical instruments are involved. The study of past ritual musical behaviours is not only a way of better understanding the past but also our present. Till and Tamboer focus their studies on contemporary rituals. Tamboer, through studying the remains of a medieval horn, reflects on newly created traditions and their relationships with those that are rooted in the remote past. Finally, Till explores the contemporary revival of rituals involving trance or shamanistic practices, exploring the presence of the past in contemporary culture. This joins the end of our study with its beginnings, and reminds us of the underlying reason for our interest in the rituals and music of the past, that a better understanding of the lives of those who came before us can help us to better understand ourselves.

Raquel Jiménez Pasalodos, Rupert Till and Mark Howell

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The Round-Bodied Lute (*Ruan*) and the Ideal of the "Cultivated Gentleman" in Fourth- to Eighth-Century Chinese Funerary Arts

A Preliminary Study

By Ingrid Furniss

A variety of foreign musical instruments arrived in China during the period from Han (206 BC – AD 220) to Tang (AD 618–907). Lutes, appearing in nearly every type of Chinese musical ensemble to this day, arguably had the greatest impact. The most common lute type to appear in Chinese ensembles is a pear-shaped, bent-necked instrument, now known as pipa. *However, the modern* pipa *was preceded by a little-studied lute type, a round-bodied instrument with long, straight neck. Now known as a* ruan, *the round-bodied lute seems to have been intimately connected to* wenren *(Cultivated Gentlemen) and to their spiritual, political, and social cultivation as early as the 3rd century AD. Drawing largely on funerary evidence dating between the 4th and 8th centuries, this paper will explore the early role that the* ruan *played in male Chinese elite culture.*

Beginning as early as the Zhou dynasty (circa 1050–256 BC), music played a key role in ritual activities. Ritual music associated with the Zhou court was known as *yayue* (refined music). Promoted by Confucius as the purest form of music, *yayue* was comprised of set melodies, slow, non-intricate rhythms, and pentatonicism; its simplicity and repetition were believed to calm and pacify the mind. The earliest forms of *yayue* were performed by large ritual orchestras comprised of bells, chime stones, and accompanying instruments, including various strings, winds, and drums. By late Zhou and Han, *yayue* played by such orchestras had fallen out of fashion. In subsequent periods, *yayue* was viewed in a broader sense as "music cultivated by the educated elite, and paramount in this category was music for the *qin,* a zither of high antiquity with seven strings. Because it was the instrument played by Confucius, it was regarded as the instrument par excellence for the literati" (Wong 1991: 38). By the

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3rd century AD, *yayue* rarely served strictly "ritual" purposes for these elite men, as they played it to cultivate their own minds, no longer those of society in general, and to harmonize themselves with the natural and spiritual order (Dewoskin 1982: 145). Spiritual and emotional cultivation through *qin* music, however, was regarded as the domain of elite men, not commoners.[1]

Elite males continued to rely on the *qin* as an instrument for self-cultivation and spiritual enlightenment well into the modern age. Despite its dominance in this capacity, however, the *qin* apparently was not alone. Beginning in the early Six Dynasties period (AD 220/222-589), an instrument of possible foreign origin—the round-bodied lute with straight neck—seems to have been gradually assimilated into elite male culture. As early as the 5th century, works of art show it being played by elite men, often in conjunction with—and sometimes in replacement of—the *qin*. Initially identified as a *pipa,* the round-bodied lute was eventually named *ruan* or *ruanxian* after its most famous performer, Ruan Xian, the 3rd-century scholar, recluse, non-conformist and member of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove.[2] It is likely because of its connection to this renowned man, regarded by elite men in later periods as a *wenren* or "cultured gentleman" who others wanted to emulate, that the *ruan* became so intimately connected to elite culture. Focusing primarily on funerary evidence from the 4th to 8th centuries, this paper will discuss the instrument's connection to Ruan and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and its evolution into an elite instrument *en par* with the *qin*. Like the *qin,* it was possibly used for self-cultivation and spiritual communion with nature and the immortal realm, and it reflected the high social standing and political ideals of its players.

1 See DeWoskin (1982: 101-124) for a discussion of the *qin* and its association with literati and spiritual cultivation.

2 For the sake of clarity, this paper will refer largely to the round-bodied lute as *ruan,* even though that term was only applied with any consistency to the instrument after the 8th or 9th century AD. Other than Ruan Xian, few *ruan* players can be identified with certainty by name. Liu Hui has listed the names of a number of possible examples—several of whom were known to be elite scholars and officials—living during the Six Dynasties period (Liu 2005: 79). Unfortunately, all of these individuals are described in texts as players of the *pipa,* a generic name used for both the round-bodied and pear-shaped lutes before late Tang and Song. As few scholarly gentlemen are known to have played the pear-shaped lute in pre-modern times, Liu Hui may be correct in identifying them as *ruan* players.

The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove

The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, a group of *Xuanxue* (Dark Learning) practitioners living in the 3rd century AD, were notorious for their non-conformity to conservative Confucian norms upheld by the Chinese court and its

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administration.[3] Living during a time of great social, political, and economic chaos following the fall of the Han dynasty (206 BC - AD 220), these men believed that the strict moral and political values associated with Confucianism were no longer viable in a changing age. In opposition to the *status quo,* the Seven Sages purportedly gave up their positions to retreat to nature, the so-called Bamboo Grove.[4] Drawing on anecdotes from the 5th century text, *Shishuo xinyu* (New Specimens of Contemporary Talk) by Liu Yiqing (AD 403-444), Ellen Laing summarizes that, "Not only did the men of this period indulge in such anti-social, anti-ritual, seemingly bizarre and eccentric behavior as well as follow their personal inclinations, but also, two, they were greatly admired precisely for doing so, they were lauded for their non-conformist activities, they were esteemed for being individuals" (Laing 1974: 7).[5]

Continuing until the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, scholar-literati idealized these sages as quintessential examples of "cultured gentlemen", spending their days reading, writing poetry, drinking, and playing music together. They also were deeply respected for their lofty ideals and willingness to retreat in opposition to a poorly managed government or corrupt society. For all of these reasons, the Seven Sages were a popular theme in many works of art from the 5th century to modern times.

Three members of this group were well-known musicians: Ji Kang[6] (AD 223–262), Ruan Ji (AD 210–263), and Ruan Ji's nephew, Ruan Xian. Ji Kang and Ruan Ji were adept at playing the *qin;* the former wrote extensively on this instrument.[7] Although the *qin* may already have been connected to elite men beginning as early as the 5th century BC,[8] Ji Kang's writings contributed to the high status of the instrument and its evolution as an elite male object used to cultivate the mind (Addiss 1999: 27). Ruan Xian, on the other hand, played a rather unconventional instrument. Judging from archaeological and art historical

3 As discussed by Little (2000: 185), the Seven Sages are often described as Neo-Daoist sages. Although their ideals were later categorized as Daoist, they lived at just the time when Daoism was emerging as a religion. Little suggests that the Seven Sages are more accurately described as members of *Xuanxue,* a "philosophical movement that sought understanding of the supreme reality (Dao) and questioned social conventions". The movement was led by scholar-literati, not by Daoist practitioners.

4 The extent to which they fully gave up their positions has been debated. Several of the sages still served in official capacities. However, according to popular belief, they all retreated into nature and gave up their positions. It is the legendary nature of their reclusion that influenced later scholars.

5 See Liu (2002) for a full translation of *Shishuo xinyu*.

6 Ji Kang's name is also frequently written as Xi Kang.

7 See translations of Ji Kang's essay on the *qin* in Gulik (1968) and Knechtges (1996: 279-303).

8 I discuss the early connection between the *qin* and the scholarly gentleman in Furniss (2008: 83-87).

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evidence, his round-bodied lute was possibly a Central Asian or Steppe instrument, likely appearing in China during the 1st or early 2nd century AD. Confucius, who was opposed to the new and non-traditional, would have been appalled to encounter an educated elite gentleman playing such an instrument. However, because of Ruan's tendency towards non-conformism, perhaps we should not be so surprised. He may well have chosen the instrument because it did *not* conform to tradition, whereas playing the *qin* would have.[9]

Representations of Ruan Xian and the Seven Sages

The earliest known representations of Ruan and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove date to the 5th century AD. Four representations of these men have been excavated from elite tombs in Jiangsu province, suggesting the popularity of this theme among southern elites during the time (Hearn 2004b: 206).[10] The finest and earliest of these examples, excavated from a mid- to late-5th century tomb at Xishanqiao outside Nanjing, consists of more than 100 stamped bricks arranged together to form two large murals *(ibid.)*. Each mural is decorated with four figures, including the Seven Sages and one additional individual, Rong Qiqi (551-479 BC), a contemporary of Confucius said to have become an immortal. These two murals were placed on opposite walls flanking the tomb's coffins. Ruan is depicted in the panel that would have decorated the wall to the right of the coffins (Fig. 1). He is joined by Rong Qiqi, playing a *qin*-zither to his right; Li Ling, peering into his drinking vessel, and a sleeping Xiang Xiu appear to his right. Ruan is shown plucking the strings of his instrument, a round-bodied lute with four tuning pegs, four flower-shaped sound holes, and a long tassel hanging from the tuning box. He holds a small plectrum in between his thumb and forefinger. In a recent study, Howard Goodman has suggested that the depiction of Ruan playing music in such a setting may have evoked for a Southern Dynasties visitor to the tomb the political struggles that Ruan faced, including his criticism of "the disturbing change in Jin music" brought about by the court scholar Xun Xu's (AD 221–289) new tuning system and Ruan's eventual banishment from the Jin court for expressing such opinions (Goodman 2010: 275). Using ancient bells and chime stones to

9 Several early sources suggest that Ruan Xian composed a *qin* piece, 三峡流泉 *Sanxia Liu Quan* (Flowing Springs in the Three Gorges), indicating that he knew quite a bit about the instrument. However, it is not clear whether he also played it. See Thompson (2009: footnote 5) for a brief discussion of the historical texts mentioning Ruan's connection to the piece.

10 These murals are discussed in extensive detail in Spiro (1990).

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reproduce the ancient tone measurements, Ruan argued that Xun's pitches were "too high because the metrics varied from those of antiquity" (*ibid*.: 268). Drawing on early philosophical texts like the *Li Ji* (Notes on Ritual), he suggested that "high pitches connote grief" and that they are signs of a decaying state *(ibid.)*. Despite Ruan's interest in the correct pitches of ancient times, he also seemed to enjoy dabbling in new music, as suggested by his unusual choice of musical instrument. Ruan clearly was a highly idiosyncratic individual.

While the depiction of Ruan playing his instrument may have called to mind his musical ideals and idiosyncrasies, what was the more general purpose of the murals depicting the Seven Sages and Rong Qiqi? Maxwell Hearn argues that "the murals function(ed) much as wall paintings would in a palatial residence" (Hearn 2004b: 206). Wall paintings in palatial residences were not merely intended for decorative purposes; they often served a didactic and political function, impressing upon the viewer the high status, extensive accomplishments, and exalted lineage of the owner. In a funerary setting, they would also serve a similar function, showing the status and virtues of the tomb occupant. Audrey Spiro has suggested that only one who "admired the concept of the cultivated gentleman" and wished to be seen as one would commission such murals (Spiro 1990: 113). Following on the example set by the Seven Sages, the cultivated gentleman came to mean one who was "profound, serene, [and] imperturbably untrammeled" (*ibid*.: 105). Viewed in association with the immortal beings depicted throughout the Nanjing tomb, Spiro also proposes that the Seven Sages were regarded as immortals themselves (*ibid*.: 143). To depict them in the tomb may have "reflect(ed) [the tomb occupant's] hoped-for heavenly existence" in the company of such individuals *(ibid.)*.

Hearn further argues that these murals reflected a "dramatic shift from the Confucian ritual decor of late Han and Jin tombs and funerary shrines—depictions of filial sons, moral paragons, and virtuous rulers—toward a celebration of personal freedom and individualism" (Hearn 2004b: 206). The shift away from Confucian decor occurred largely in the South, ruled by Chinese-governed states. The foreign-ruled Northern Wei dynasty, on the other hand, strongly promoted Confucian teachings and ritual practices. The revival of Confucianism in the north is demonstrated by the famous lacquer screen from the tomb of the Northern Wei official, Sima Jinlong and his wife, dating to AD 484. Sima Jinlong, a descendent of the Jin royal family, was the son of Sima Chuzhi (AD 390-464), who had fled from the political intrigues

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Fig. 1 Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, detail showing Ruan Xian (right) and Rong Qiqi (Left). From a Southern Qi tomb in Nanjing, 5th century. Taken from Wikimedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seven_Sages_of_the_Bamboo_Grove).

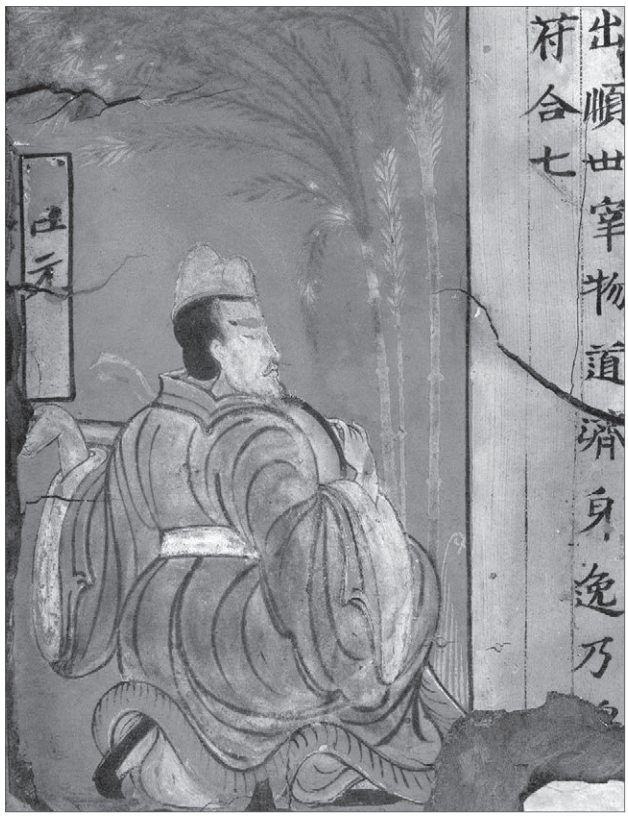

Fig. 2 Detail of painted screen, from the tomb of Sima Jinlong. Northern Wei (386-534), 5th century.

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Fig. 3 Ceramic tile depicting a round-bodied lute. From an Eastern Jin or Southern Dynasties tomb in Nan'an Huangguanshan M17, 4th to 6th century. Taken from Wang (2011: Fig. 2.5.1c).

Fig. 4 Mirror with figures, birds, and flowers. Excavated from a tomb in Luoyang. Tang dynasty, 8th century. National Museum of China, Beijing. Photo by the author.

Fig. 5 Detail of decoration on qin. *Likely imported from China, 8th century. The Shosoin, Todaiji Temple, Japan. Taken from Shuen-git Jie (http://swannbb.blogspot.com/2013/07/xyzqin-16july2013-and-shosoin-qin-in.html).*

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of the Eastern Jin court and joined the Northern Wei. Hearn suggests that the lacquer screen "stood on a dais used by Sima Jinlong, where it would have served as a constant admonition, prompting him to conduct himself according to the dictates of Confucian ritual propriety and ethics" (Hearn 2004a: 158). In death, the screen likely served as a testament to Sima Jinlong's virtues in life.

As most of the themes appearing on the screen are Confucian, the depiction of the *Xuanxue* scholar Ruan Xian playing his lute is especially striking (Fig. 2). Appearing at the bottom of one of the screen's panels, Ruan is depicted kneeling with his back facing the viewer. He wears a long robe and cap, demonstrative of his gentlemanly status. His body is turned slightly to the right, so that we see the profile of his face, bearing an expression of intense concentration. Ruan's lute is largely hidden by his body; the rounded contours of the sound box appear to his right, and the neck projects to his left. The curled fingers of his right hand are suspended over the instrument's body, as if preparing to strike its strings. The swift movement of his left hand on the fingerboard is suggested by the swirling ribbons of his cap. To Ruan's right is a bamboo tree and an inscription, alluding to the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove.[11] As indicated by a second inscription to the left, another member of the group, Li Ling, may have been depicted seated next to him. Why do we encounter these *Xuanxue* scholars in a largely Confucian work? One theory is that the painting is based on Eastern Jin prototypes, in which Ruan might have been depicted (*ibid.*: 160). The work may reveal, in part, the infiltration of *Xuanxue*—and, by the 5th century, Neo-Daoist—ideas into Confucianism. Another explanation is that Sima Jinlong related to the ideals of the Seven Sages, and their desire to retreat from a society and government they did not support. This is exactly what Jinlong's father had done. In keeping with the Confucian duty of a filial son, the depiction of the idealist and non-conformist Ruan Xian and possibly Li Ling may well have honored the actions of his father.

A number of ceramic bricks excavated from 4th- to 6th-century tombs in Quanzhou, Fujian province also depict round-bodied lutes, but this time without players (Fig. 3). The significance of these bricks is unclear. Beginning in the Han dynasty, ceramic bricks were often used to decorate tombs in various parts of China, and they often displayed musical entertainment and other activities from daily life. Just as the depiction of zithers in ceramic bricks suggests the popularity of those instruments in

11 The colophon appearing to the left of Ruan Xian mistakenly identifies him as Ju Yuan, the style name or *zi* of Shan Tao, another member of the Bamboo Grove (Hsieh 2001: 9).

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the Han dynasty, the round-bodied lute or *ruan* might have been a favorite musical instrument in the Quanzhou area during the 4th to 6th centuries. Chen Jianzhong has argued that the *ruan* was transmitted to the "Minnan" region (southern Fujian) by northern Chinese immigrants during the Jin dynasty, and that it was incorporated into regional music, *xianguan* (literally "strings and winds") (Chen 2007: 39-40).[12] Following the collapse of the Western Jin dynasty, many Chinese families immigrated to the area to avoid civil war, political turmoil, and foreign rule that was encroaching from the north.

The absence of musical performers and additional instruments, with the exception of one depiction of an hour-glass drum, may point to the extra-musical significance of the *ruan* in the funerary context. A number of interpretations are possible. One possibility is that the instrument called to mind the Buddhist paradise. Many Buddhist cave-temples in northwest China are decorated with player-less musical instruments floating above scenes of paradise; *ruan* are occasionally depicted in such scenes.[13] However, most, if not all, examples date after the period in question. Another possibility is that the shape and construction of the instrument evoked early cosmological concepts. The 2nd-century text *Fengsu Tongyi* indicates that the four-strings of the instrument "represented the four seasons," and that the length of the instrument, described as 3 *chi* and 5 *cun,* corresponded to heaven, earth, man and the five elements.[14] The 3rd-century scholar Fu Xuan also assigned further cosmological meaning to the instrument, with its shape corresponding to *yin* and *yang;* the 12 frets, to the 12 tones; and the 4 strings, to the 4 seasons.[15] (During Han and later times, it was quite common to attach cosmological meanings to any variety of things, including musical instruments.) To have such a symbolically-loaded instrument decorating ones tomb may well have been regarded as auspicious. A third possibility is that the Chinese families who migrated from the north also associated the *ruan* with the memory of Ruan Xian and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove. They may have selected the image to evoke the high ideals of these

12 The pear-shaped lute, *pipa,* is now the primary string instrument in such ensembles. Chen (2007: 40) suggests, however, that the *ruan* may have been used first and then it was replaced by the *pipa*.

13 Examples are depicted in various cave temples at Dunhuang, including Cave 172 (early Tang), and Yulin Cave 3 (Xixia period). See Wang (1996 [Gansu juan]: 135, Figs. 2.2.13f; 203, 2.4.12a-b). Examples tend to date to the Tang period and later.

14 See *Fengsu tongyi* 6.307. A *chi* is roughly equivalent to a foot, while a *cun* is approximately an inch.

15 Although Fu Xuan's original text does not survive, parts of it are preserved in later redactions, such as *Songshu* (5th century) and *Tongdian* (8th century). The passage described above appears in *Tongdian* 144.3679.

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men, as well as to legitimize their own escape from the political challenges occurring to the north, just as in the case of Sima Jinlong and his father.

Archaeological and art historical evidence suggest that male elites continued to hold the *ruan* with high esteem long after the 6th century. Two 8th-century objects, a bronze mirror with mother-of-pearl inlay from a tomb in Luoyang and an intricately decorated *qin*-zither stored in the Shosoin repository at Todaiji (Nara, Japan), clearly attest to this. Excavated in 1955, the bronze mirror is decorated with two elegantly dressed gentlemen and an attendant in a garden setting, consisting of a flowering tree, various animals and birds (parrots, a crane, etc.), and rocks (Fig. 4). One of the men appears to be drinking while the other is strumming a *ruan*. Cahill identifies the figures as two of the Seven Sages (Cahill 2005: 36),[16] and the lute player would presumably be Ruan Xian.[17] The absence of the other five members and any sign of a bamboo grove, however, makes the identification tenuous. In fact, even before the emergence of the Seven Sages in the 3rd century AD, the depiction of two cultured gentlemen enjoying music together was a common theme on bronze mirrors. Beginning in late Han, the decoration evoked a popular visual metaphor, alluding to the friendship between two individuals, the semi-legendary 5th-century BC *qin*-player Yu Boya and his best friend, Zhong Ziqi (Cahill 1994: 55). The friendship between these individuals is described in the 3rd century BC text, *Lüshi chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Lü):

> *"Boya strummed the zither; Zhong Ziqi listened to him. Whenever he was strumming the zither with his thoughts on Mount Tai, Zhong Ziqi would say: 'How skillfully you strum the zither! Lofty and majestic like Mount Tai'. When in quiet and leisure his thoughts were on flowing water, Zhong Ziqi again would say: 'How skillfully you strum the zither! Purling and rippling like flowing water'. When Zhong Ziqi died, Boya smashed his zither and severed its strings; to the end of his life he never again strummed on a zither. He thought there was no one left in the world worth strumming a zither for."* (Translation by Cahill 1994: 55)

As suggested by this text, Ziqi was the only person who could fully understand Boya's music, a sign of their deep friendship and intellectual and

16 She incorrectly identifies the lute player as Ji Kang (Cahill 2005: 37). As described previously, Ji Kang was a *qin* player, and the instrument depicted here is most certainly not a *qin*.

17 Ruan Xian was mentioned regularly in Tang texts, suggesting his popularity at the time. Liu (2011) cites poetry and historical texts by Tang scholars and poets, including Du You, Bai Juyi, and Li Duan, as evidence for the Tang people's deep appreciation for Ruan Xian.

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emotional accord. The appearance of these two individuals on mirrors in late Han reflects a new emphasis on the cultivated gentleman, which Cahill describes as follows:

[The appearance of Boya] "[…] reflects the new social model of the cultivated gentleman as well as the Daoist religious paradigm of the perfected man, the adept rewarded with individual immortality and a posthumous position in the celestial bureaucracy. The portrayal of Boya with his friend Zhong Ziqi further suggests the special value placed on friendship between educated men and the mourning of the irreplaceable dead […] the deceased was just such a divinely gifted and cultured gentleman as Boya, who will be mourned as Zhong Ziqi was mourned." (*ibid*.: 56)

The relationship between these two came to be known as *zhiyin* (literally "to know one's music"), a reference to the truest form of friendship between two like-minded, intellectually-cultivated individuals. Attesting to the long-standing popularity of this theme, Boya and Ziqi continued to appear regularly in Chinese works of art until modern times.

Tang mirrors regularly feature Boya, usually in the company of a dancing phoenix. The phoenix, a creature of the immortal realm, seems to fulfill the role of Ziqi in such works. The decoration on these mirrors suggests that Boya's music is so pure and profound that not only Ziqi but even phoenixes are attracted to it.[18] (The presence of the phoenix may also allude to the immortality of the musician, as well as that of his friend, for whom the immortal bird substitutes.) The appearance of birds, including a dancing crane (also symbolic of immortality), on the Luoyang mirror may point to the profound musical abilities and spiritual refinement of the lute player as well. This combination of imagery on the Luoyang mirror may have been inspired by the pictorial and literary tradition associated with the sages Yu Boya and his friend, as well as a Daoist obsession with immortality, the immortal realm, and the spiritual properties of musical instruments. Boya's *qin* has simply been replaced by the *ruan,* alluding to the high prestige and spiritual potency of the latter.

The high status of the *ruan* is also suggested by its pairing with the *qin* in various Tang and later works.[19] An excellent example of this pairing

18 Sterckx (2000: 25) discusses the power of music to transform the natural world, a metaphor for a just ruler's ability to "transform the wilds through moral virtue".

19 The *ruan* was also paired with the *qin* in a pre-Song manual, *Qin Ruan er nong pu* 琴阮二弄谱 [Performance manual for the *qin* and *ruan*]. This work is no longer extant (Ning 1985: 40). Ning suggests that the pairing of *qin* and *ruan* was especially popular in the Five Dynasties period (AD 907-960), but I have encountered even more evidence of this pairing in late Ming and early Qing.

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appears as decoration on the *qin*-zither in the Shosoin collection at Todaiji (Great Buddha Temple) in Nara, Japan.[20] The *qin* is intricately ornamented with designs in silver and gold inlay. Wave or cloud patterns cover much of the instrument's body, while trees, birds, and drinking and music-playing human figures decorate its edges. Framed by a golden square on the head of the instrument are three seated figures wearing long robes and caps, suggesting their elite status (Fig. 5). The figures are arranged in a triangle with a *qin*-player and man drinking from a horn occupying the base and a *ruan* player sitting at the apex. Although the exact identities of these figures is difficult to determine, the likelihood that they are Daoist sages, or even immortals, is suggested by the presence of the watery waves leading up to the forested, mountainous setting—alluding to the Isles of the Immortals—and divine beings riding on phoenixes above them. Similar to the Luoyang mirror, a dancing bird—in this case a phoenix—also appears just below the three seated figures. This decoration further attests to the spiritual potency of both *qin* and *ruan;* their paired sounds were enough to entertain and to attract beings of the immortal realm.

After the Tang period, the *ruan* largely disappeared from funerary settings; it was apparently superseded by the more popular *pipa* (the pear-shaped lute). Figure paintings from the Five Dynasties (AD 907-960)/Song [AD 960-1279]) to early Qing (AD 1644-1911), however, regularly feature scholarly gentlemen playing *ruan* lutes in outdoor settings. Similar to the decoration on the Shosoin *qin,* many of these works depict the *ruan* and the *qin* being played together. In other instances, the *ruan* is played by a gentleman seated alone, and he sometimes appears with an immortal crane. The settings for such works are identical to those depicting scholars playing the *qin* in nature; the interchangeability of the instruments in these later works suggests once again that both were used for the same purposes, primarily cultivation of the self and of friendships between like-minded scholars, as well as meditation on nature.

Ruan Xian is clearly identifiable as the lute player in several works, particularly when he appears with six other gentlemen in a bamboo forest. Ellen Laing describes a "sudden proliferation of 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove' paintings" in the late Ming and early Qing periods (Laing 1974: 49). Drawing parallels with the political environment in which the Seven Sages lived, she suggests that the turbulent political conditions of the late Ming "may have contributed to similar feelings of discontent and discouragement among the literati" and that this led to the increased popularity of the Seven

20 This instrument was possibly a gift from the Tang imperial court to the Japanese emperor Shomu (AD 701-756), whose wife, Empress Komyo, donated it to the imperial temple following his death.

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Sages in paintings (*ibid*.: 50). Nevertheless, it would be hasty to identify all *ruan* players depicted in Ming and Qing paintings as Ruan Xian, and even to identify all groups of individuals seated in a bamboo grove as the Seven Sages. Several Ming paintings, for example, depict a gathering of famous Song literati at the so-called "Western Garden", the garden of Song emperor Yingzong's son-in-law, Wang Shen (circa AD 1048-1122). A man is shown playing the *ruan* in several of these works; he has been identified as Chen Jingyuan (AD 1024-1094), a famous Daoist scholar.[21] Laing also suggests that some late Ming artists were depicting their own contemporaries, which she describes as "Ming dynasty Neo-Confucian existentialists dressed in Ming dynasty garb, pleasuring themselves with wine and the arts in a bamboo grove" *(ibid.)*. In so doing, these gentlemen were emulating the lives of the Seven Sages; those who played the *ruan* may well have been imitating Ruan Xian.

Conclusion

Chinese funerary and visual evidence from the 4th to 8th centuries suggests an intimate connection between the round-bodied lute, or *ruan,* and the ideal of the cultivated gentleman. The elite reputation of the *ruan* was likely inspired by its most important historical player, Ruan Xian, the quintessential cultivated gentleman who later scholars wished to emulate. Because of its link to this individual, the *ruan* seems to have accrued characteristics traditionally associated with the scholarly *qin;* it appears to have served as an instrument for spiritual communion with nature and the immortal realm, as well as for self-cultivation and the cultivation of friendships between refined gentlemen. As suggested by a large body of surviving paintings, the *ruan* continued to represent the ideal of the cultivated gentleman until late Ming and early Qing.

Although this research improves our understanding of the *ruan* as a literati instrument, it does not explore the role that the *ruan* played at the Chinese imperial courts and in Buddhist contexts from the Six Dynasties to Song, as well as its subsequent decline in these contexts after the Song. Why did the *ruan* disappear from court and Buddhist music while seemingly becoming more popular

21 An excellent example of such a painting, "Literary Gathering in the Western Garden", belongs to the National Palace Museum. (See National Palace Museum 2010.) Although attributed to the Yuan artist Zhao Mengfu (AD 1254–1322), the work is likely a Ming painting. In this work, Chen Jingyuan is depicted seated on the roots of a large pine tree. He is playing the *ruan,* while another scholar listens to his performance. See Pregadio (2008: 251-253) for a brief biography of Chen Jingyuan.

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amongst the scholarly elite? Did the instrument's decline at court directly result in its increased favor amongst disenfranchised literati who wished to have nothing to do with the court? If so, their non-conformity to court culture drove their selection of a musical instrument, just as Ruan's may have inspired his.

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Divinized Instruments and Divine Communication in Mesopotamia

By John C. Franklin

This paper assembles and discusses evidence for the divinization of musical instruments in Mesopotamia, with emphasis on sources from the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia. I explore the relationship between such objects and ideas about communicating with the gods. Special attention is given to passages in the Gudea Cylinders, *a temple-building narrative from circa 2100 BC, which elaborate in some detail the conception, also known from other more laconic sources, of divinized instruments as "counselors" to the gods in whose temples they serve.*

In Sumerian sources, from the later Early Dynastic period onwards (circa 2500 BC), the divine determinative can be attached to cult-objects.[1] Besides statues, votive figures, religious iconography, temples, temple-doors, scepters, incense burners, and so on, one often finds musical instruments so qualified. Such objects could receive offerings of animal sacrifice, spices, oil, fruit, jewelry (Selz 1997; cf. Jean 1931: 159; Galpin 1936: 65-66; Hartmann 1960: 53, note 3, 61-62; Nougayrol 1968: 59; Rashid 1984: 13, 140; Kilmer 1997: 464, 466).[2] Although these were probably consumed by cultic personnel, it remains significant that the objects themselves were assigned the offerings (Selz 1997: 175–177).[3] The great diversity of divinized objects in Mesopotamia strains familiar conceptions of the divine (Selz 1997; 2008). Apparently there was no essential distinction between "real" gods and those objects which one might see as merely representing them, or being otherwise associated. These were not symbols of the gods, but instantiations of some sort:

"No distinctive feature could be found that functionally separates the divine images proper from 'cultic

1 *ETCSL = Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/).*

2 For offerings to the balaĝ specifically, see further the numerous references in Sjöberg 1984– (s.v. 1.1.1-2.); further material noted by Heimpel (1998a: 6–10).

3 Selz notes that the relatively small size of such offerings befits the status of cult-objects as servant gods to a master god.

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objects', including the statues of the ruling elite. They both seem to vary only in their degree of religious importance, not in their conceptualization" (Selz 1997: 167)

"The aura of a god in his temple could so attach itself to the temple, or architectural parts of it in particular, also to implements he used, and to the city which housed the temple, in such a way that these various things also became gods and received offerings as a mark of the fact." (Lambert 1990: 129)

For all practical purposes, therefore, divinized musical instruments *were* gods. A large number of these are described in lexical and literary texts. The balaĝ, which in the 3rd millennium at least referred to a kind of stringed-instrument, probably a lyre (see below), was especially productive: "most major and many minor master-gods had one or more [balaĝ-gods] as servants" (Heimpel 1998b: 4). An extensive catalogue was compiled by W. Heimpel from god-lists and other sources *(ibid.)*.[4]

The creation of divinized instruments must have involved, during all relevant periods, complex rituals comparable to those whereby a god took up its abode in a new or repaired statue (Lambert 1990: 123). Our only direct evidence, however, comes from tablets documenting the divinization of the *lilissu*-drum (Thureau-Dangin 1921: 1–5; 1922: Nos. 44–46; Livingstone 1986: 187–204; Linssen 2004: 92–99, 267–282; cf. also Stauder 1970: 199–201, Fig. 3a; Kilmer 1997: 465; Selz 1997: 201, note 215; Gabbay forthcoming a: 118–138). Although the "exemplars"[5] are late—from the Neo-Assyrian period down to the Seleucid—it is clear that the ritual was traditional (though clearly not static) (Livingstone 1986: 200; Linssen 2004: 267).[6] These texts are in any case our only hints for imagining analogous rituals of the 3rd and 2nd millennia.[7] The astonishingly elaborate rituals were secret procedure, performed and guarded by the so-called lamentation-priests (Sum. gala / Akk.

4 A similar conception may underlie Egyptian harps affixed with the heads of gods, pharaohs and falcons which go back to at least the early 2nd millennium (12th dynasty), and persisted down to the Greco-Roman period: Hickmann (1961: 64-65, 82-83, 126–128, Abb. 37, 51, 92-93, 96); Manniche (1991: 8, 44, 59, 68, 72, 93, 97, 104, Figs. 1, 24, 33, 39 [= Pl. 13], 41, 57, 62, Pl. 16). There are parallels from the Hittite world (Goetze 1957: 162; Nougayrol 1968: 59; Schuol 2004: 98, 203, 212, 259). The divinized *kinnāru*-lyre is also known form Ugarit, a forerunner of Kinyras of Cyprus (Franklin, forthcoming).

5 Actually it is not a question of simple textual transmission, the tablets document real variations in the ritual (Linssen 2004: 94, note 495).

6 Linssen's study upholds in general the traditional nature of the late ritual texts (Linssen 2004: 167–168).

7 Thus Selz (1997: 178–179) assumes that already in the Neo-Sumerian period divinization entailed rituals of name-giving, animation, induction to an appropriate cult place, and ongoing offerings and maintenance.

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kalû), whose best known function was to assuage divine anger and grief through ritual performance (see further below).

A divinized instrument, like other cult-objects, was endowed with a name, typically relating to its physical or conceptual properties, or to some aspect of the master god to whom it was devoted (Gabbay forthcoming a: 113–114).[8] The act of naming was an essential part of endowing the divinized instrument with individual existence (Selz 1997: 178). This bears in turn on the capacity of such divine objects to enter "personal" relationships with major gods, and so appear in mythological narratives. Thus in the *Babylonian Erra Myth,* an Akkadian narrative work of the early 1st millennium (Cagni 1969 [Foster 2005: 771–805]),[9] the god Erra's vizier Ishum is perhaps his deified scepter, Ḫendursanga (Cagni 1969: 138–140; Foster 2005: 742) His seven weapons are definitely anthropomorphized as warriors (Machinist 1983: 222). Much earlier is the Neo-Sumerian poem *Lugal.e,* telling the contest between Azag and Ninurta; the latter is advised and accompanied by Sharur, his divinized mace (Van Dijk 1983; Jacobsen 1987: 233–272).[10] The causative link between the divinization of cult-tools and their appearance in myth is evidently the use of these objects in ritual. The basic mechanism is well described by A. Livingstone (1986: 169–170, original emphases):

"In Babylonian thinking the distinction between 'ritual' and 'myth' is slight. Statues or symbols used in the rituals were believed to be *in every sense the deities which we regard them as* representing *[...]. A ritual in which the statue or symbol of a deity participated was therefore in effect a myth. On the other hand, myths which we would conceive as having happened once in the past were believed by the ancient thinkers to be capable of repetition."*

The religious importance of divinized instruments is attested by a startling number of official year-names referring to their construction and dedication in major temples. During the reign of Ibbi-Sin, the last of the Ur III emperors, one year was called "Ibbi-Sin, king of Ur, fashioned the balaĝ Ninigizibara for the goddess Inanna" (Sigrist/Gomi 1991: 329, year 22). A balaĝ-god of this same

8 For examples of "conceptual names", see below.

9 Despite the work's late date (Machinist 1983: 221–222), Ḫendursanga himself is known already in the third millennium (Fara; I–II dynasty of Lagash; Ur III), see Cagni (1969: 138–140, with further references).

10 The work has been dated to soon after circa 2150 BC, due to its allusion at 475–478 to Gudea's building of Ninĝirsu's sanctuary Eninnu (see Van Dijk 1983: 1–9; Jacobsen 1987: 234).

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name features in an illuminating lamentation ritual for Ishtar at Old Babylonian Mari (Dossin 1938; Durand/Guichard 1997: 46–58,[11] Ziegler 2007: 55–64; cf. Gabbay, forthcoming a: 106).[12] Years named after the dedication of divinized *lilissu*-drums are also known for Iter-Piša of Isin, Immerum of Sippar, and Itur-Šamaš of Kisurra; a dedicatory inscription (but not year-name) is attested for Warad-Sin of Larsa (see with references Gabbay, forthcoming b, §4). Hammurabi is also known to have constructed and dedicated a balaĝ in his fortieth regnal year, to mark the defeat of Mari.[13] Three year-names commemorating the creation of ala-drums (Sum. á-lá, Akk. *alû*) are known from the Old Babylonian period (Mirelman, forthcoming). But the earliest example comes from the time of Gudea of Lagash (circa 2100 BC), one regnal year (perhaps the 3rd) was that "in which the balaĝ Ushumgal-kalama was fashioned" (Falkenstein 1966: 8; Sigrist/Gomi 1991: 317; Edzard 1997: 27; Selz 1997: 200, note 218).[14] As it happens, this instrument is treated in some detail in the famous *Gudea Cylinders,* which are a rich narrative source for divinized instruments 'in action', that is for understanding how they enabled communication with the gods, and affected the gods' dispositions through the ritual music which they helped produce.

Gudea of Lagash, to memorialize his building of a new ziggurat complex at Girsu for its city-god Ninĝirsu, caused a lengthy praise-hymn (zà.mí), *The Building of Ninĝirsu's House,* to be composed and inscribed on two large clay cylinders. It describes in great detail the process of construction and consecration.[15] Complementary 'documentation' comes from a series of figurative steles, including several scenes of musical performance,

11 The name appears as dNingizippara at i.8', 10' (Durand/Guichard 1997: 52, with comments on p. 47); also in "Le rituel d'Eštar d'Irradân", i.21' (*ibid.*: 59, 62).

12 This same Ninigizibara is also mentioned in an administrative text from the city as the beneficiary of a consignment of decorative silver and gold (Joannès 1985: 111–12, No. 10; cf. Durand/Guichard 1997: 47, discussing this goddess's relationship to Dagan at Tuttul; Gabbay, forthcoming a: 106; also Heimpel 2000). Ninigizibara is otherwise well known from Ur III and OB god-lists, where she can appear as a "GU_4-BALAG advisor of Inanna" (Heimpel 1998a: 10-11; Heimpel 2000; Gabbay, forthcoming b: §10 and note 23 (quotation); Gabbay, forthcoming a: 106–107). Animal offerings to Ninigizibara are also attested at Uruk, once "on the occasion of a lamentation rite which accompanied a circumambulation starting from the fate of the Ĝipar", and in a number of other ritual contexts (Durand / Guichard 1997: 47; Heimpel 2000: 383, noting several contexts in which Ninigizibara is known from Umma).

13 The text is BM 96952 = 1902-10-11, 6: *ed. princ.* Sollberger/Walker (1985); I follow the text and translation of Frayne (1990: 345–347 [E4.3.6.11]), who reads BALAG in l. 31.

14 The sequence of Gudea's regnal years has not been fully established (see Edzard 1997: 27).

15 Text: Edzard 1997: 68–101; *ETCSL* 2.1.7 (translation followed here). For the work's genre and title (*Gud.* B 24.17 = *ETCSL* 1362–1363), cf. Suter 2000, 277. Pantheon of Lagash: Falkenstein 1966.

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which were apparently dedicated at the temple's inauguration.[16] The text, rich in sociological and cultic information, brilliantly illuminates the anthropomorphic visualization of cult-objects, slipping easily between material-ritual documentation and vividly imagined mythological scenes. At the climax Ninĝirsu, arriving at his new 'palace', is accompanied by the functionaries of his divine court, all of whom are actually divinized cult-objects and architectural elements of the temple itself. Once again we encounter Sharur, this time as the mace of Ninĝirsu alongside a second weapon called Shargaz (*Gud.* A 9.24 = *ETCSL* 2.1.7, 245).[17] After Gudea dedicates his mace in Eninnu, it is personified and Sharur takes up his position, his duties as Ninĝirsu's general being described in detail (*Gud.* A 22.20, B 7.12–21 = *ETCSL* 2.1.7, 613, 971–982). Other cult-objects are made to be family members of Ninĝirsu. His son Ig-Alima is the deified door of the hall of justice (*Gud.* B 6.11–23 = *ETCSL* 2.1.7, 944–956; cf. Jacobsen 1987: 430, note 22). The oldest son Šulšaga is butler to Ninĝirsu's table (*Gud.* B 6.24–7.11 = *ETCSL* 2.1.7, 957–970).[18]

The temple also hosted two divinized balaĝ-instruments. Early in Cylinder A, the goddess Nanshe interprets an ominous dream for Gudea. He is to seek Ninĝirsu's approval, as well as exacting architectural plans, for the temple's construction. Ninĝirsu must first be made favorably disposed to the king's pleas through the building and dedication of a magnificent chariot. The king can then make his request, but this must be "translated" by the balaĝ:

"Enter before the warrior who loves gifts, before your master Lord Ninĝirsu in (his temple) E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, together with his beloved balaĝ, Ushumgal-kalama, his famous instrument, his tool of (good) counsel (nîĝ-ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$). Your requests will then be taken as if they were commands;[19] *and the balaĝ will make the inclination of the lord—which is as inconceivable as the heavens—will make the inclination of Ninĝirsu, the son of Enlil, favorable for you so that he will reveal the design of his house to you in every detail."* (*Gud. A* 6.24–7.6 = *ETCSL* 2.1.7, 162–170)[20]

16 Suter (2000: 274 *et pass*). The musical scenes are Suter 2000 (ST. 9, 13, 15, 23, 25, 53–54, with discussion on pp. 190–195); those showing the giant drum are discussed below. A proposal by J. Börker-Klähn to restore a bow-harp on a further fragment is unlikely, see Suter (2000: 189, 172, Fig. 19a).

17 For the historical conflation of Ninurta (Nippur name) and Ningirsu (Lagash name), see Jacobsen (1987: 233–235).

18 Many such relationships can be found in the canonical lamentations: see e.g. Elum Gusun (Honored One, Wild Ox) and Cohen (1988: 296–297, 314–316).

19 This is translated by Wilson (1996: 36), as "[Then] he will receive [even] your most insignificant words as exalted".

20 Gudea carries out these instructions at A 7.9–8.1 (173–195). My translations adapted from the *ETCSL* and Jacobsen (1987).

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In Cylinder B this same balaĝ, along with the rest of the god's effects, is dedicated in the finished temple, the very event that gave its name to a regnal year (see above). But now the narrative becomes fully mythological as Ninĝirsu arrives to take up residence. The divine spirit permeates the temple and its sacred parts and contents, and Ushumgal-kalamma, "Great Dragon of the Land", materializes from the balaĝ to be inducted to the office of nar, the "musician-singer" whose repertoire included songs of divine and royal praise. We are given a clear description of his duties:

"To have the sweet-toned instrument, the tigi-harp, correctly tuned,[21] *to place the music of the algar and miritum, which make the temple happy in Eninnu for the hero, the wise Ninĝirsu, was his beloved musician-singer (nar), Ushumgal-kalamma, going about his duties for the lord Ninĝirsu."* (*Gud. B* 10.9–15 = *ETCSL* 2.1.7, 1041–1047)[22]

This balaĝ-god is evidently a kind of musical director for the temple orchestra, responsible for the production of celebratory music, in times of peace and good order. I shall return to his larger role in the text below.

A second balaĝ-god follows upon his heels—Lugal-igi-ḫuš, the "Red-Eyed Lord" (Selz 1997: 178)—whose duties are as follows:

"With his divine duties, namely to soothe the heart, to soothe the spirits;[23] *to dry weeping eyes; to banish mourning from the mourning heart […] Gudea introduced his balaĝ, Lugal-igi-ḫuš, to Lord Ninĝirsu."*[24]

The existence of two distinct balaĝ-gods is justified by their separate functions.[25] The second is clearly a kind of lamentation-priest (an exact title is not given).[26] In aetiological myth the gala / *kalû* is associated especially with Inanna, to soothe whose wrath Enki created him (Kramer 1981 [BM 29616:

21 Lit. "put in order" (Wilson 1996: 158).

22 Wilson (1996: 159) renders the last line as "(sc. Ushumgal-kalama) passed by the lord Ningirsu with (emblems of the) rituals". Ushumgal-kalama appears further at *Gud. B* 15.19–16.2 (1175–1181), for which see below; and *Gud. B* 18.22–19.1 (1242 f.), "Ushumgal-kalamma took its stand among the *tigi*-instruments, the *alu*-instruments roared for him like a storm" (transl. after Jacobsen).

23 Wilson (1996: 159): "to calm the inside, to calm the outside".

24 *Gud. B* 10.16–11.2 = *ETCSL* 2.1.7, 1048–57); translation after *ETCSL*. Wilson (1996: 160): "His lyre, Lugal-igi-ḫuš, passed by the lord Ningirsu with (emblems of the) rituals".

25 Selz (1997: 178). The existence of two distinct balaĝ-gods is justified by their separate functions. The lexical collection *An:Anum* lists no fewer than seven balaĝ-gods of Ninĝirsu, all otherwise unattested (Heimpel 1998b: 5).

26 For the following overview, see Gabbay (forthcoming a: 63–64, 70–71, 159–168). I assume that the detailed first-millennium sources can serve at least as a rough guide to earlier periods (Cohen 1988).

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balaĝ-composition of Old Babylonian date]; Shehata 2006; Gabbay, forthcoming a: 76–78). The gala's ritual performances were either sung to his own accompaniment or sometimes just recited, and used the linguistic mode or register called emesal, otherwise used for female speech in literary texts and apparently connected with an early tradition of female mourners which was later co-opted by male lamentation singers like the gala (see Cooper 2006: 43–45; approved by Michałowski 2006: 49; cf. Bachvarova 2008; Gabbay, forthcoming a: 68; for emesal itself, Schretter 1990). This is clearly relevant to certain third-gender qualities long noted for the gala, and that his earliest function was probably to lament at funerals amidst lamenting women.[27] Institutionalized lamentation was performed both periodically (chronic) and as occasion demanded (acute). Regular laments were scheduled by day, month, or year within a cultic calendar, either conducted in front of the god's statue, or elsewhere within a temple precinct depending on the event (including processions to or from the sanctuary). Occasional laments responded to particular situations, and accordingly could be either prophylactic or "corrective". Even such a fortunate event as a royal victory could call for apotropaic lament (Heimpel 1998a: 14–16 with parallels). Liminal events, involving potentially dangerous transitions, included eclipses, the construction and repair of musical instruments and other cult-objects,[28] and the building or repair of temples (the place of performance varying with the architectural element in question, such as foundation, gates, wall or roof) (Gabbay forthcoming a: 158, 165–166).

The usual instrument of the gala was the balaĝ. But the description of Ushumgal-kalamma shows that, in the 3rd millennium at least, the balaĝ could appear in the hands of the more versatile nar (see also Shehata 2006; 120, note 8; Gabbay, forthcoming b: §11, note 31). The identity of the balaĝ has long been controversial. But it now seems quite certain that balaĝ, a word of perhaps onomatopoeic origin, "originally […] referred to a stringed instrument, quite possibly a lyre", before undergoing a notorious semantic shift to drum by or in the Old Babylonian period, apparently due to a (still unexplained)

27 See recently, with earlier literature, Cooper (2006: 44–45); Gabbay (2008; forthcoming a: 67–68). Early evidence for funerary function comes from the reign of Gudea, who suspended funeral rites when purifying the ground for Ninĝirsu's temple: "No bodies were buried, no gala brought his balaĝ, let no lamentation sound, and no wailing woman sang a dirge" (transl. after Edzard 1997, E3/1.1.7, Statue B, v. 1–4); Cooper (2006: 42–43).

28 For the *lilissu* ritual, see above. Manufacture and repair of instruments was also supervised by Dada, a well-documented gala attached to the royal palace in the reigns of Shulgi and Shu-Sin—an "official state musical impresario, a manager and organizer of various ceremonial events rather than merely […] a musician" (Michałowski 2006: 50). See also Mirelman (2010).

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29 The basic sources and issues may already be found in Hartmann (1960: 52–67). See now Gabbay (forthcoming a: 67–68, 98–102, 153–154; forthcoming b [quotation]: esp. §§2–5). Onomatopoeic origin: Selz (1997: 195, note 153); Heimpel (1998b: 2); Gabbay (forthcoming b: §2, note 7).

30 Gabbay (forthcoming a: 92–98; forthcoming b: §2) argues convincingly for the balaĝ-sign's origin in a lyre ideogram, overturning its old identification as "harp". Bull-headed lyres have often been identified by scholars as zà.mí, but Gabbay notes that, while the (Akkadian equivalent) *sammû* is well-attested in the first millennium, bull-lyres have all but disappeared (§2 note 9). Bull-lyres, Rashid (1984, 28-41, 44-45, 50-51, 60-61, 64-67 with figures there).

31 See Suter (2000 ST. 9: 350, 13: 358, 54: 386). The connection with balaĝ is proposed by Jean (1931: 159), Black (1991: 28, note 39) Suter (2000: 193), following Black (1991: 98, note 138) in considering balaĝ unambiguously as a drum in the time of Gudea. But note that Black himself was "at a loss" to explain the lexical evidence from Ebla. It might also be felt that the name "Great Dragon of the Land" is more appropriate to the sound of a giant drum than a lyre. But see Gabbay (forthcoming a: 113–114), who includes Ushumgal-kalama among those balaĝ-gods whose names reflect their master-god, since Ninĝirsu is "often portrayed as a snake (ušum)".

32 Mirelman (forthcoming), arguing from the huge size and weight indicated by textual sources. Moreover, as Mirelman notes in a postscript, the á-lá is often connected with the si-im (for example both are found in the "balaĝ-hall" of Eninnu: *Gud. A* 28.18 = *ETCSL* 2.1.7, 774), and since the latter's identification as cymbals (Ur III and later texts) is secured by their occurrence in pairs and being made of copper and bronze (Mirelman 2010), [to be continued on p. 51]

change in performance practices.[29] To its crucial equation with *kinnārum* in lexical texts from Ebla (circa 2400 BC: see Franklin 2006a: 43, note 8 with references), Gabbay has now added compelling new arguments on the basis of iconography, the expression GU_4-BALAG ("bull-balaĝ"), and the shape of the BALAG sign, which he derives from the bull-lyre, so prominent in Sumerian art of the Early Dynastic period.[30]

Of course one may still question the meaning of balaĝ in the *Gudea Cylinders,* which one might suppose are late enough to have used the word in its secondary sense. Thus some would identify Ushumgal-kalama with the giant drum shown several times in the steles, an apparent prominence which might fit well with the balaĝ-god's importance, as implied by his year-name.[31] But S. Mirelman has now convincingly shown that the giant drum, both here and in the Ur-Nammu stele, is in fact the á-lá.[32] This instrument too features fairly prominently in the cylinders, being played for instance in a group that accompanies the making of bricks (*Gud.* A 18.18 = *ETCSL* 2.1.7, 500).[33] The relevant steles may therefore show the instrument as part of the building process, rather than the bestowal of gifts during the temple's inauguration (Mirelman, forthcoming; contrast Suter 2000: 190–195). Moreover, the apparent prominence of the giant drum is counterbalanced by another stele-fragment from Lagash showing a typical bull-headed lyre (Sarzec 1884–1912: 2, Pl. 23 [discussed 1.219–1.220]; Suter 2000, ST. 10: 352). It is surmounted by a smaller bull which, as has been well observed, *"anime l'objet d'une sorte*

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de vie" (Sarzec 1884–1912: 1.220). That the stele does not stem from Gudea's own building program is suggested by stylistic considerations, which indicate a rather earlier date (Suter 2000: 184–185, suggesting that the stele might show a governor of Lagash during the period of Akkadian rule). Nevertheless, there are significant sympathies with the iconography and poetics of the Gudea steles. An upper register shows a procession of figures carrying building and measuring tools, presumably on their way to a construction site (*ibid.*: 264). They are preceded by a ruler, whose role is thus comparable to that of Gudea as royal overseer. So here the bull-lyre has all the associations, which have been thought to endow the giant drum of the Gudea steles with sufficient dignity to justify its identification with Ushumgal-kalama. All told, therefore, one is well-justified in supposing that the balaĝ-gods of Ninĝirsu were indeed stringed-instruments, probably lyres.

The activity attributed to Ushumgal-kalamma is ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$, literally "re-turn the voice", that is, "answer" or "advise".[34] The same word is applied to another "counselor" of Ninĝirsu's, Lugal-si-sa, who was to conduct regular prayers on behalf of Lagash to keep the city in good repair, the king in good health, and his power stable (*Gud.* B 8.10–22: 993–1005). The word is further clarified by a detail of Gudea's dream, a woman holding a silver stylus and "consulting" an astronomical tablet; Nanshe explains that this is her sister Nisaba, whose tablet records a favorable astral conjunction—an omen within an omen (*Gud.* A 4.23–5.1: 110–114; 5.21–6.2: 134–140). Considerable external evidence confirms that ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ typically describes advice or responses from divine sources. The word appears several times as the name or epithet of a temple itself, or one of its shrines.[35] Perhaps these imply "house of the counseling balaĝ". There is also the "Hall of the balaĝ" which was part of the

[footnote 32 continued] one may quite confidently identify the á-lá and si-im as respectively the giant drum and cymbals which are paired in the Ur-Nammu and Gudea steles (Gudea: Suter 2000, ST. 54, cf. 191; Ur-Nammu stele: Suter 2000: Figs. on 245–249).

33 It appears also at *Gud.* A 28.18 (774, in the "balaĝ-hall"); B 15.20 (1177, among the instruments governed by Ushumgal-kalamma); B 19.1 (1243, accompanying Ushumgal-kalamma when Gudea goes into Eninnu to sacrifice).

34 "To which he keeps listening", in the translation of Edzard (1997: 73), can yield the same sense only when one takes into account the other evidence for the counselling balaĝ.

35 For the last point, see the five entries for "House of the Counsellor" (é. ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$) in George (1993: 65–66; §§41–45), which include "the seat of Ennundaĝallu and Ĝanunḫedu, the counsellors of Marduk, in é.saĝ.íl at Babylon" (§41); "seat of Nuska . . . in the sanctuary of Ningal at Ur" (§42); "a shrine in the temple complex of é.kur at Nippur" (§44); "a sanctuary of Ea" (§45). For other shrines of "counsel" or "wisdom", see George (1993: 89 [§§ 333, 336], 91 [§§355–359, 362, 364–365], 129 [§830]; 138 [§951]); for those of divine "decisions", 106 (§§ 544, 546–547); cf. perhaps 137 (§943), "House of the Open Ear".

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temple of Ningirsu, mentioned in the *Gudea Cylinders,* where it is likened to the sound of a "roaring bull"—a most appropriate description if the balaĝ was in fact a bull-lyre (*Gud. A* 28.17 [77]); George 1993: 63, §4; Kilmer 1997: 468a; Heimpel 1998b: 4, 15, note 8).[36]

In the *Gudea Cylinders* these "counsels" reflect various modes of divine communication carried out by temple personnel. As presented in the Gudea narrative, however, they equally evoke relationships between a king and his ministers. That a singer or musician should have a king's ear like this, empowered to advise and/or soothe, is interesting in itself. It may be compared with the influential position of "Chief Singer", well known from the Old Babylonian period, and the representation of musicians, especially lyrists, standing before seated figures (for the Chief Musicians of Mari, see Ziegler 2007). One also think of the young David's service in the court of Saul, where he soothes the "evil spirit" which besets the king, while himself growing in power (see Franklin 2011: 105-106).

But if one converts the lyre-god metaphor back to reality, it is the instrument itself that possesses these powers of counsel. This is quite clear from the first passage quoted above, which describes the hypnotic effect that the balaĝ will have on Ninĝirsu. It is imagined to compel the god's obedience. It seems to speak directly to the divine mind, otherwise inaccessible to men, with a special hermeneutic language, a magical herald and translator. One may compare a Hittite text that refers to "the sweet message of the lyre, the sweet message of the cymbals" (KBo 12 88.5–10; see Schuol 2004: 203). In the Bible, too, one finds evidence, quite abundant, for the lyre as a medium through which gods and mortals can communicate (Franklin 2006b: 9–10; Franklin 2011: 104–105).

The balaĝ as counselor is known from many other texts, showing that its treatment in the *Gudea Cylinders,* while uniquely revealing, is quite typical (Sjöberg 1984–, s.v. ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$).[37] Gabbay and W. Heimpel have independently assembled a rich array of relevant material (Heimpel 1998b; Gabbay, forthcoming b: §§9–13). In first millennium god-lists many minor deities are identified as "counselors", where the Akkadian *mundalku* is written with the Sumerian logogram GU$_4$-BALAG, "bull-balaĝ".[38]

36 Another "Chamber of the Balaĝ" is found as a shrine of the god Gula in a cultic lament, later qualified as "Chamber of the Princely Balaĝ" (George 1993: 85, §§293, 708); cf. Kilmer (1997: 468a).

37 "Counselor, Dragon of the Land" also appears in a hymn to Ninurta (Sjöberg 1976: 418 f., line 100). The divine balaĝ is elsewhere attested for the temples of Baba, Enki and Nintu, as a possession of the gods Ninurra and Ningal, and is mentioned in other divine and royal hymns (Hartmann 1960: 59, 61, 66-67). Cf. Franklin (2006a: 43f); Gabbay (forthcoming b: §11).

38 Cf. Heimpel (1998b: 5): "It means that all [balaĝ-gods] were understood as counselors of their divine masters".

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Their names often incorporate the word balaĝ (or another instrument); indicate a musical sound or voice; or constitute a theophoric sentence describing their counseling services to a major god (Also studied by Heimpel 1998b: 5–6). Some of these GU_4-BALAG advisors are found bearing the title ad-gi_4-gi_4. This word can even appear as a god in its own right (^{d}ad-gi_4-gi_4), and be identified in turn as a balaĝ-lyre and a bull-balaĝ counselor. Gabbay (forthcoming b: §13) also calls attention to the semantic duality of the verb ad-gi_4 (reduplicated as ad-gi_4-gi_4), whereby the literal sense of an instrument "returning its voice" or "re-sounding" (perhaps from its bull-resonator) is extended to the act of advising: "the advisor echoes the god's speech through his counseling and by that calms him". Heimpel (1998b: 5) aptly notes the parallel English metaphors of "sounding someone out" or being someone's "sounding board".

These astute observations of Heimpel and Gabbay can be pressed further. The god who consults with his minstrel is a mirror image of the king who must seek divine guidance. Gudea submits his query, and receives his response, through the balaĝ. Thus the respective musings of god and king meet precisely in the instrument, a kind of portal between dimensions, a hotline between a king and his patron divinity. In this light, ad-gi_4-gi_4 can take on the further sense of an answer received by a king from a query to the god.

The balaĝ in the *Gudea Cylinders* is both instrument of musical counsel, and the divine bard who gives such counsel in his song by playing the balaĝ. Practically speaking, any musical counsel of which the balaĝ was capable will have emerged in dialogue with its player. The balaĝ-god is himself, we have seen, imagined as a musician. Presumably he plays the very instrument of which he is said to be the spirit, and so he effectively plays himself. In this conception all human agency is effaced. Ultimately this seems to imply that the priest-musicians who played such divinized instruments impersonated, or better instantiated, the god, whose epiphany was strictly synchronous with the performance itself, the temporary bestowal of divine aura upon the performer(s).

The preceding analysis assumes that divinized instruments were in fact played, and not merely venerated. This is the case at least with the divinized *lilissu* in 1st-millennium lamentation rituals, discussed above. There may have been occasions, however, when the instrument was the focus of a ritual, and did not itself provide music.[39] Thus in the Ishtar

39 See Gabbay (forthcoming b: §3): "There is no evidence for the playing of this instrument even in texts which mention the balaĝ stringed instrument in the same context of balaĝ prayers, and these prayers may have been performed in front of the (deified) balaĝ instrument without its playing".

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ritual from Old Babylonian Mari, a balaĝ is said to be "placed", but whether it was actually played is not made clear (see above, note 25). A similar situation may be illustrated by another text from Lagash (Ur III period), which records the stages of a "circumambulation rite".[40] This began with offerings and a balaĝ-lament ("tears of the prayer offering") in the central court of a temple (probably Eninnu), followed by a procession around it, with further offerings at its east and west gates, and then around the city itself. Before proceeding to a larger circuit of the province with a "kettledrum lament", an offering was made to "the god lyre-of-the-storm (or "the god lyre-of-the-day": diĝir balaĝ u_4-da) [...] having circled the house and the city". It seems clear that the divinized balaĝ is the object and beneficiary of this ritual. But whether it was sounded, or merely lamented to, is unclear. Conceivably the balaĝ may be intentionally silent, symbolizing a lamentative state—marked by the rejection of joyous lyre-music—which is to be overcome through the ritual.

Alternatively, the whole procession may have been conceived as being performed by the balaĝ-god, in which case the actual performance of the cult personnel has been effaced. This could be paralleled by a scene in the *Gudea Cylinders,* which refers to the king's own duties at the temple:

"To see that the courtyard of the E-ninnu will be filled with joy; to see that the á-lá drums and the balaĝ-lyre will sound in perfect concert with the sim-cymbals, and to see that his beloved lyre Ušumgal-kalama will walk in front of the procession, the ruler who had built the E-ninnu, Gudea, himself entered before Lord Ninĝirsu." (*Gud. B* 15.19–16.2 [1175–1181])

Here, as in the earlier balaĝ-rite in which he appealed to Ninĝirsu, Gudea is the sole visible actor. While this may reflect political posturing vis-à-vis the temple clergy,[41] it is also consistent with the ideology of the king as the bridge between the human and divine spheres. Thus even during an epiphany that eclipses the human agents who brought it about, the king himself remains in the picture. Similarly, we saw Gudea standing by as the balaĝ-god interceded with Ninĝirsu on his behalf,

40 This is the term used by Heimpel (1998a), whose analysis is summarized here; he cites a parallel from Mari (15 f.). Gabbay (forthcoming b: §6) treats a 1st-millennium circumambulation rite to the *lilissu*-drum as an example of the changing performance context which caused a semantic shift in the meaning of balaĝ: see above.

41 Cf. Gabbay (forthcoming b: §4) (in another context): "by donating the main instrument which accompanied one of the most important prayers of the temple cult, the king was able to be involved in the ritual and not only the temple and its personnel".

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a sort of guardian angel relationship recalling numerous cylinder-seal scenes of the Akkadian and Ur III periods (e.g. Collon 1987: 36, with images).

The *Gudea Cylinders* show music serving as a means of communication with the divine, able both to translate human emotions and even specific intellectual concerns into a form intelligible to the gods, and to induce in them an appropriately receptive state. In this period at least such ideas and actions were apparently not limited to cult personnel, but were also of concern at the highest levels of power, recognizing of course that these two spheres were never mutually exclusive in Mesopotamia. While musical instruments were not the only cult-objects that were divinized, they were distinguished by their ability to "speak", and hence by their collaboration in musical rites directed at the gods. This let them participate in the elaboration of ideas about communication with the divine, as seen here especially in the "counsels" of the b a l a ĝ-instrument.

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Sounds for Gods, Sounds for Humans
Triton Shell Horns in Phoenician and Punic Contexts from the Western Mediterranean

By Antonio M. Sáez Romero and José M. Gutiérrez López

The use of seashells of the genus Charonia *as conch trumpets both in ritual contexts and in multiple aspects of the societies of the ancient world is well attested by archaeological and written sources in many areas of the Mediterranean. However, this pattern has remained almost unnoticed thus far in the Punic western area (including also the Atlantic Coast), with little mention by the Greco-Latin authors and even more exiguous published archaeological remains. The available information and new archaeological data are evaluated, focusing on the presence of Triton shell horns in diverse contexts of Phoenician and Punic period located in the Straits of Gibraltar region. These new findings come mostly from well-dated stratified contexts, which made possible a precise approach to its functionalities, thus allowing this information to facilitate an outline of certain issues, such as the dating of these seashells or their relationship with particular environments. Consequently, we will put an emphasis on the multifunctional role that these items seem to have played in the western Mediterranean Punic area, attested to both by ritual contexts as well as by location, such as primary settlements or industrial workshops (in this case, essentially related to fishing tasks).*

"Phocis, a fertile country when it was still land, separates Aonia from Oeta, though at that time it was part of the sea, a wide expanse of suddenly created water. There Mount Parnassus lifts its twin steep summits to the stars, its peaks above the clouds. When Deucalion and his wife landed here in their small boat, everywhere else being drowned by the waters, they worshipped the Corycian nymphs, the mountain gods, and the goddess of the oracles, prophetic Themis. No one was more virtuous or fonder of justice than he was, and no woman showed greater reverence for the gods. When Jupiter saw the earth covered with the clear waters, and that only one man was left of all those thousands of men, only one woman left of all those thousands of women, both innocent

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and both worshippers of the gods, he scattered the clouds and mist, with the north wind, and revealed the heavens to the earth and the earth to the sky. It was no longer an angry sea, since the king of the oceans putting aside his three-pronged spear calmed the waves, and called sea-dark Triton, showing from the depths his shoulders thick with shells, to blow into his echoing conch and give the rivers and streams the signal to return. He lifted the hollow shell that coils from its base in broad spirals, that shell that filled with his breath in mid-ocean makes the eastern and the western shores sound. So now when it touched the god's mouth, and dripping beard, and sounded out the order for retreat, it was heard by all the waters on earth and in the ocean, and all the waters hearing it were checked. Now the sea has shorelines, the brimming rivers keep to their channels, the floods subside, and hills appear. Earth rises, the soil increasing as the water ebbs, and finally the trees show their naked tops, the slime still clinging to their leaves." (Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* I: 313-347; transl. A. S. Kline 2004)

The current pan-Mediterranean archaeological record indicates that the manufacture and use of aerophones made from shells of the genus Charonia probably had its roots in Late Prehistory, by at least the Neolithic period, with a wide distribution, and incorporating all sorts of contexts in the eastern (Reese 1985; 1990; Prieur 2005), central (Skeates 1991) and even western Mediterranean (Moreno 1995a; 1995b), These areas include a wide list of sites on the Iberian Peninsula, in North Africa, Italy, the Aegean Sea, Crete, Cyprus (Åström 1990) and the Near East.

On this basis, the shell aerophones would have become instruments very frequently used in worship contexts in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze Age (2nd millennium BC). The finds seem to be concentrated in temples and secondary cult locations, in addition to graves, especially in Crete and Cyprus (Reese 1990). In this area the recurrent appearance of reproductions of these seashells on other materials (pottery, stone, metal, etc.) is remarkable. They were used in the same kind of cult-like or funerary environments. Although other functions cannot be excluded for these conch trumpets, the relationship with ceremonial worship in the Cretan world is also well illustrated by the iconography engraved on seals and gems. Of these finds, special emphasis should be placed on the famous discovery of the Idaean Cave in Crete (Renfrew 1985: Pl. 9.3), where exists a figure blowing a conch in relation to an altar with horns of consecration and trees (probably a representation of a ritual act).

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The populations of the Syrian-Palestinian strip also used shell-horns of this type, although it has been noted "that the triton shell occurs in Palestinian sanctuaries only after the movement of the Sea Peoples in the early 12th century BC" (Åström 1990: 6). Indeed, some authors have highlighted the fact that archaeological data on the use of conch trumpets seems to indicate their particular prominence during the Iron Age (since 12th century BC) in Phoenicia and in general in the Syrian-Palestinian area (Braun 2002: 180-184; Reese 2010: 115). It seems that from this period the conch aerophones were linked to multiple functions, among which was military signalling, although participation in ritualized ceremonies (just as the horn or *shofar*) must have been one of the most frequent. Some finds that are widely known correspond to this phase, such as the Temple 200 at Tell Qasile, dated between 1100-1050 BC (Mazar 1980: 118-121, Pl. 40.9) and the seashells associated with the main wall of the settlement of Hazor, of 10th-9th century BC (Yadin *et al.* 1960: 35, Pls. VI.3, CLXVI.11). However, for the moment there are no details about the characteristics of the cultic use of these instruments, and whether its use was linked to ceremonies or specific deities.

Consolidated in the everyday goods of Canaanite populations of the eastern Mediterranean, it seems that the Phoenician *diaspora* in the beginning of the 1st millennium BC spread the complex methods of using the conch trumpets (thus overlapping local prehistoric tradition) towards the western boundaries. Although so far we have no deep research on the issue, recent findings in Phoenician colonies in the Central Mediterranean such as Mozia in Sicily (Nigro 2010; 2012) or Sulky in Sardinia (Bartoloni 2008: 1603) appear to confirm the use of these sonorous tools in the new western settlements. Similarly, the new evidence studied for this paper, from Phoenician and indigenous sites of southern Iberian Peninsula and northwest Africa (Fig.1a), also provide solid archaeological arguments that point to the same conclusion.

The main purpose of this paper is the study of the dispersion in the Phoenician-Punic period of these shell horns throughout the western areas, as well as a determination of the functions for which they were employed. We will focus particularly, on the participation of these conch trumpets in ceremonies of worship and their inclusion in the regional religious realm (in which marine mythology and divinities seem to carry great weight), while also concentrating on the use of the shell horns in craft activities, especially maritime crafts (navigation and fishing, see Sáez/Gutiérrez forthcoming).

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Sounds for Gods: Some Case Studies from the Punic West

Tamuda: Mauretanian Domestic Cult in Northeast Morocco

Since 2007 several Spanish-Moroccan archaeological projects have been under development, that have greatly increased the available data on the major archaeological sites of northeast present-day Morocco, and have also provided new data concerning regional landscape archaeology (especially through the development of the project *Archaeological Chart of Northern Morocco,* see Raissouni *et al.* 2011). In particular, in the valley of the river Martil some salvage archaeological activities are being developed focusing on several key-sites, both dated to the pre-Roman and Roman periods, with campaigns embedded in the development of this project based on wide-ranging field surveys (Fig. 1b). Also, since the year 2007 another monographic project centred on the site of Tamuda has been under development. This is a settlement located in the middle valley of Martil river about 20 km away from the present shoreline, which was nearby during the Mauritanian period (3rd century BC to AD 40-42) the main urban reference in the area (Sáez *et al.* 2011). The campaigns undertaken in 2008-2010 and 2012 have provided interesting updates on the evolution of the pre-Roman city and also provided information about the Roman military *castellum,* which was established at the site after the annexation of the *Mauritania Tingitana* province (Fig. 2a).

The dig carried out in the northern quarter of the site (S-7, campaign 2010) has provided the main data concerning the use of conch trumpets in the Mauritanian city, which links it to a possible private or domestic cultic area (Bernal *et al.* 2011; Sáez et al. forthcoming). The excavation focused on the analysis of a residential building, specifically, the study of four indoor spaces whose stratigraphies revealed that the building had been built in the early 2nd century BC, with previous stages, perhaps dated to the Punic period (Khayari/Sáez 2011). The interior of the central room revealed two overlapping phases of occupation of the building; the first developed during the early-2nd century BC and the first decades of 1st century BC. This first period was fossilized because of the rise and change of floor levels after an unforeseen catastrophic event (also recorded in other parts of the city). The remains of items linked to the initial phase were buried almost *in situ.*

These objects had been deposited on the lower floor level and their study verified the presence of household components that refer to domestic spaces related to different activities: on the one hand, an amphora (local/regional Dr. 1A), a ceramic

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mortar and a small size rotary mill, which can be associated to activities such as small-scale storage and milling of grain for home consumption. On the other hand, some items recorded next to the southern wall of the room seem to indicate the existence of a small worshiping space. This group of cultic objects included a small italic black glaze *pyxis* (Lamb. 3) with its lid (a locally produced *operculum* commonly linked to amphorae), a handmade Mauritanian pot, an anthropomorphic incense burner with traces of combustion (perhaps fragrant substances) on the outer surface at the top, and a medium-size seashell with a trimmed apex, thus made to be used as a sounding device (Fig. 2b).

Unfortunately, this context did not provide any information about how the conch trumpet participated in the possible ritual ceremonies held at this space (which should have included the burning of scented substances), and as seems to be the case for the *pyxis,* it was included as part of this set only as a votive offering, or if instead was an active element that was continuously used in periodic rituals (that is, whether it was part of the liturgical goods). Similarly, it is not possible to link this small place of worship to a specific household-type deity, since the presence of the female incense burner hardly leads one to suspect the local worship of some deity equated with the Punic goddess Tanit.

In connection to this deposit, with the insufficient data we have we must also consider other alternative sources provided as well by the Mauritanian period record of the site to interpret the function of the shell horn. Specifically we refer to several examples of ceramic discs (about 10-15 cm in diameter) with printed reliefs, which have been considered in other Mediterranean environments linked to Punic cultic or votive roles (Fantar 1977; Fumadó 2006) and which were attested in Mauritanian contexts in other parts of the Hellenistic village. Most of these terracotta discs were imprinted with a motif that recalls Phoenician numismatic iconographies concerning a possible marine deity (Fig. 2c): a horseman carrying a spear, riding upon a hippocampus surrounded by fishes, possibly sharks, dolphins and/or whales; a scene framed with a dotted edging (Tarradell 1950; 1960: 112-114, Fig. 31, left). Other discs display schematic vegetal motifs, while only one sample shows an individual seated playing an *aulos* in front of what look like trees, perhaps a forest or an agricultural area (Tarradell 1960: 112, Fig. 31, right).[1]

1 It is also striking in this case the close iconographic relation with the Cretan scene from the lentoid recorded in the Idaean Cave mentioned in the introductory paragraph, which shows a priestess playing a conch trumpet before an altar on which are depicted three trees. One might wonder if the type of activity portrayed in the Tamuda disc could also allude to a scene related to cults linked with nature or agricultural activities.

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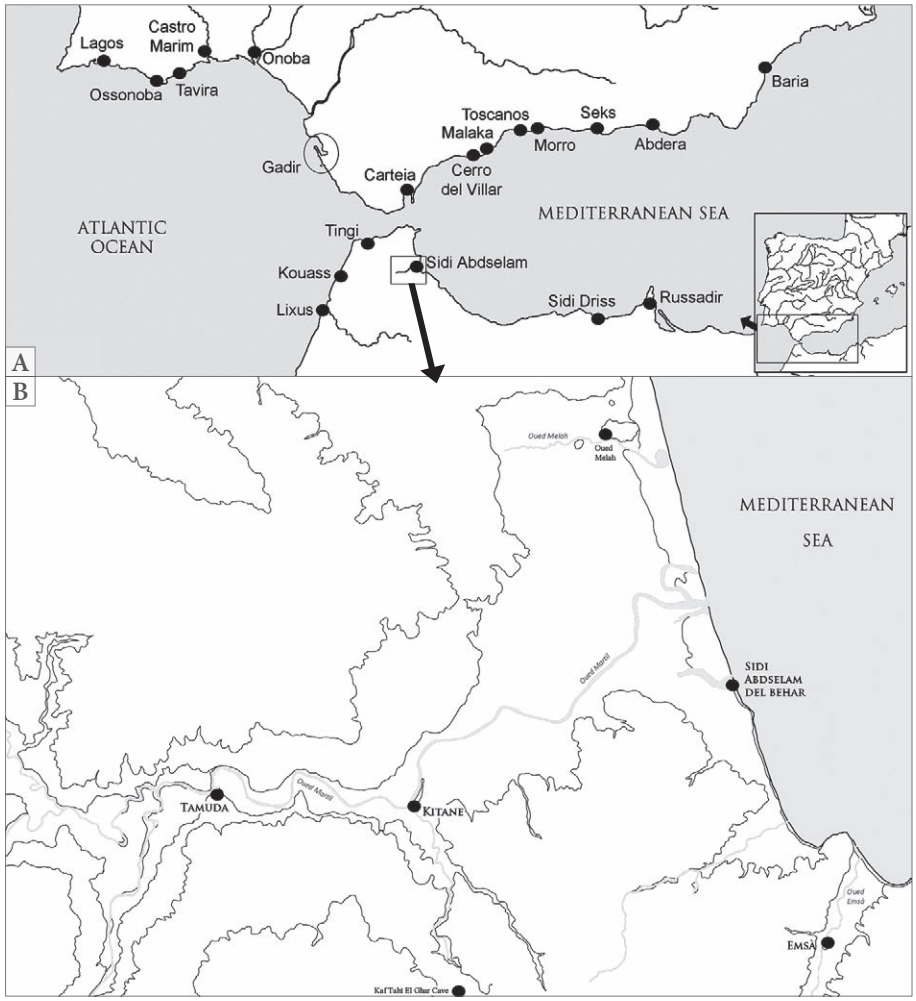

Fig. 1 A) Main Phoenician/Punic or orientalised coastal sites of the Strait of Gibraltar area; B) Location of main pre-roman sites in the valley of river Martil.

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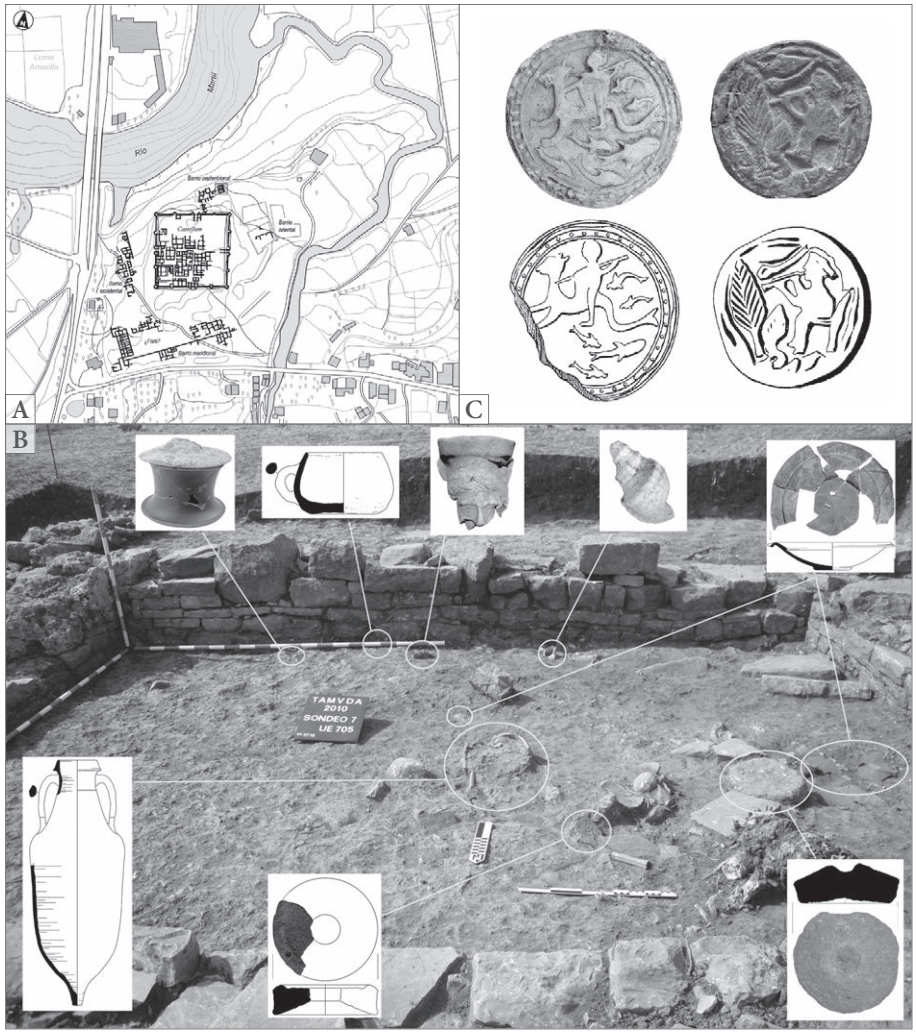

Fig. 2 A) Plan of the site of Tamuda, with the location of 2010 campaign remarked in red in the northern quarter of Mauritanian city; B) finds related with artisanal and cultic activities uncovered inside the building; C) clay discs with imprints maybe linked to fishing and worship iconographies (after Bernal et al. *2011).*

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Fig. 3 Triton shell horn recovered in 2009 campaign in the site of Kitane (after Khayari et al. *2011).*

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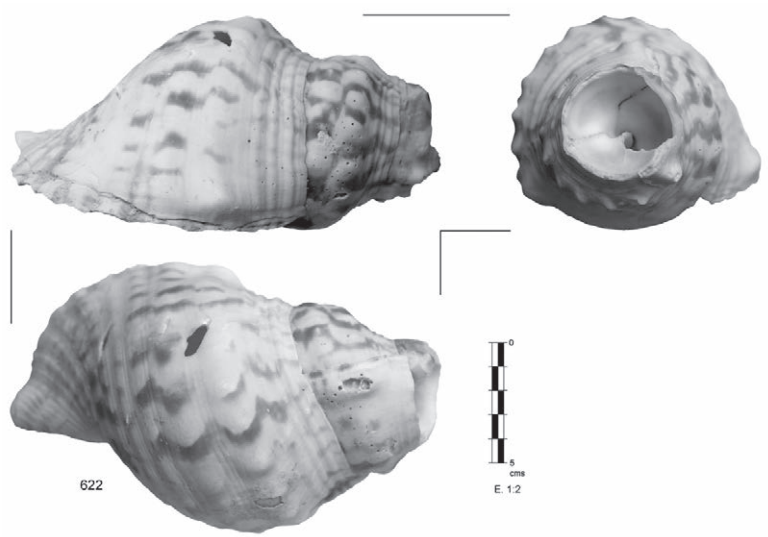

Fig. 4 Conch trumpet from Punic layer of salt-fish factory of Puerto-19, in Cadiz Bay.

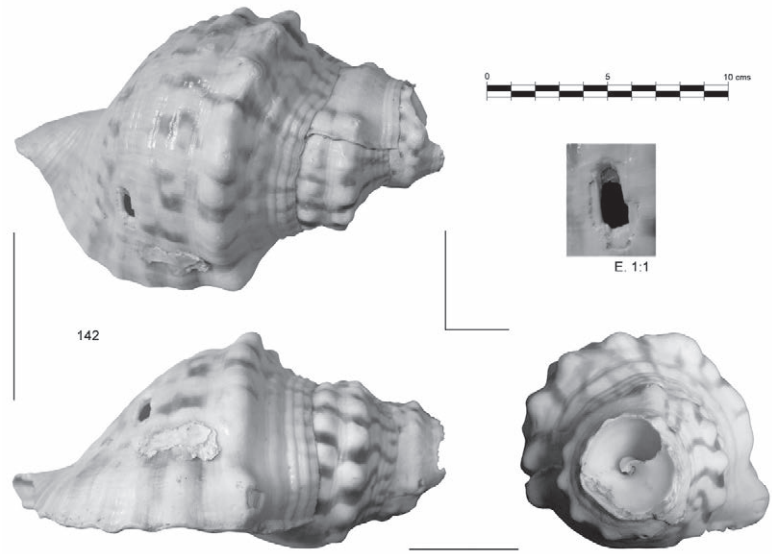

Fig. 5 Conch trumpet from Punic layer of salt-fish factory of Puerto-19, in Cadiz Bay.

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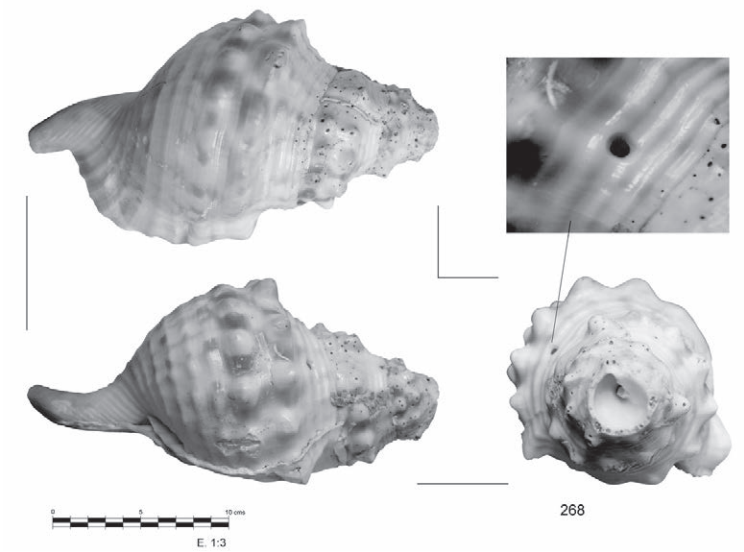

Fig. 6 Conch trumpet from Punic layer of salt-fish factory of Puerto-19, in Cadiz Bay.

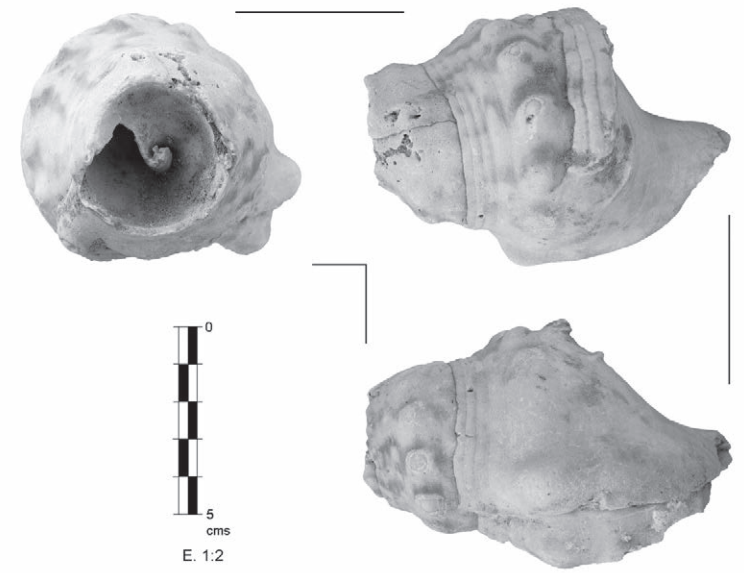

Fig. 7 Little shell horn found inside a late-Punic well in Cerro de la Batería site, in Cadiz Bay.

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Thereby, the iconography of the discs highlights several aspects that could be of interest in relation to the presence of shell horns in the daily life of this city: on the one hand they ratify the relationship of its residents with the sea and fisheries, and the importance of these beliefs in their religious realm (something well noted at regional level [Olmos 1989]); on the other, the use of instruments in possible ritual ceremonies common among the inhabitants of Tamuda, perhaps related to agricultural cults.

Regarding the first of these possibilities, we maintain that some other archaeological evidence must be assessed in relation to the interpretation of the conch trumpet found in the northern quarter of the Mauritanian city. First, although there are no similar items in the Mauritanian record elsewhere in the site, it is necessary to consider the proximity of this residential area to the river Martil and to the area that should have constituted the river port of Tamuda,[2] where fishing might had been one of the main activities. Second, the long and smooth relationship that the city might have had with trade across the river and the Phoenician coastal settlement of Sidi Abdselam del Behar (Tarradell 1960: 86-95), are well documented from the Punic period, most conspicuously revealed by the circulation of tableware and amphorae during the Mauritanian stage. Additionally, there is the presence in the Mauritanian deposits of outstanding marine archaeozoological remains (ichthyofauna/malacofauna, see Bernal *et al.* 2011) intended for food consumption by the inhabitants of Tamuda, including some whalebones located in the same space where the conch aerophone was recovered (Bernal/Monclova 2011).

In short, the conch trumpet recovered in Tamuda apparently is part of a *leitmotif* for this type of instrument (including its sound) for the entire extreme western Punic area. This is proven by the existence of intimate relations between cultic roles, functions related to maritime activities and the presence in many of these western societies (whether Phoenicians or orientalised indigenous populations) of beliefs and sea gods of great importance. The analyzed pieces of evidence—including the iconography of the terracotta discs that suggest a possible votive functionality—could indicate that in Tamuda this type of shell horn could have been

2 It is currently in its early stages of development, the Spanish-Moroccan project EAT. *Économie et artisanat a Tamuda,* focused on the analysis of the economic features of both Punic-Mauritanian period and Roman and Late Antiquity stages. Among the activities planned are the study of archaeo-ichtyological and archaeo-malacological remains of the campaigns carried out during 1940-1959, as well as new excavations in the northeastern quarter of city, with the main aim of tracking the harbor and productive facilities located in this area of the settlement (some preliminary results in Bernal *et al.* forthcoming). Thus, it is possible that in the near future it will be possible to increase the number of prototypes of conch aerophones in Tamuda, and also clarify more aspects about their functions, as a result of these new archaeological activities in progress.

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a very important component in ritual ceremonies connected with both marine cults and worship linked perhaps to agricultural tasks. Furthermore, it also could have been used by the inhabitants of the city for signaling the times important to fishing or shepherding, as well as for use in surveillance and in defence of the city, etc.

The evidence from Tamuda has been supported by new findings dating from the 4th-3rd centuries BC of the settlement of Kitane, located on the river Martil about eight kilometres to the east of the former. Preventive excavations carried out in 2008-2009 (Bernal *et al.* 2008; Khayari *et al.* 2011) allowed the study of a small portion of the settlement of Kitane that corresponded to residential buildings located at the highest point alongside the river. The stratigraphic excavations revealed the existence of an outstanding sequence of occupations of the site dating from the Late-Archaic Period (6th century BC) to perhaps the Roman annexation (AD 40-42). This work detected several abandonment/reoccupation phases with well-characterized material records. It must be emphasized that the most recent phases were excavated to a large extent, and thus provided much more information about urbanism and Mauritanian material culture.

The conch trumpet was located in one of those horizons of abandonment dated to the mid/late-3rd century BC (Fig. 3a), in the interior of a rectangular chamber that was part of a large building next to the river terrace, possibly once located in an area close to the port of the settlement. The seashell was found placed beside one of the walls, near the northeastern corner of the room, perhaps used as a foundation offering or maybe it was still in use at the time of abandonment of these buildings (Fig. 3b). The trimmed apex revealed no evidence indicating either the use of other parts such as a mouthpiece or drilled holes linked to instrument transportation or use in sound modulation. Although the context does not establish with certainty whether the conch trumpet had practical functions or was instead manufactured as an object of worship, the close relationship of Kitane with maritime commercial networks and the near coastline (since ichthyological and malacological remains were abundant) could also explain the original function of this shell.

The Mediterranean connections of these Mauritanian finds are also very interesting for our analysis of these western conch trumpets. Probably the closest parallel to the evidence provided by Tamuda and Kitane is found in the so-called *Casa del corno di conchiglia* of the Zone D in the Punic city of Motya in Sicily. In 2009, in a residential district of the central area of the island, not too far from the seaport of

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the city and a possible sacred area dedicated to a marine deity (Baal ‚Addir), several buildings dating from the 6th-5th centuries BC were excavated (Nigro 2009). In one of the indoor rooms, beneath the levels of collapse, was discovered a niche in an angle within a votive deposit composed of different materials: one bronze arrowhead, some Attic black glaze tableware vessels, other Punic ceramics, a significant number of clam shells and a specimen of *Charonia nodifera.* This conch showed obvious signs of anthropic manipulation for transformation into a conch aerophone, such as a trimmed apex and large drilled hole its excavators linked to the type of sounds it produced. This contextualized item supplied greater possibilities for the study of similar shell horns, documented in the early-20th century excavations, which until then had remained in the background (Nigro 2010; 2012: 210-211, Figs. 315-316).

The seashells recovered in Motya have very similar technical characteristics to those of the rest of the western (and also eastern) finds, which suggests a common handicraft tradition and purposes. According to its excavators, also in Motya there are certain reasons that explain the presence of these shells in relation to both cultic roles and the maritime vocation of the village and the presence there of a religious realm attached to marine divinities. As in the case of Tamuda, iconography imprinted on some ceramic items adds suggestive clues about the relationship of sea divinities (Tritons and Nereids) to this part of the city. Particularly, the rim of a *louterion* recorded near the *Casa del corno di conchiglia,* which had printed over the outer side a frieze that included Tritons and other marine components (Nigro 2010). Thus, the shell horns found in Motya seem to fit pretty well in the context of Tamuda/Kitane and Cadiz Bay finds, combining an intimate relationship with the maritime activities and its religious realm while simultaneously being used in ceremonies of worship as part of the specialized liturgical instruments (as well as offerings).

Cadiz Bay: Seashells in the Late-Punic Necropolis of Gadir?

Cadiz Bay, the location of the important Phoenician colony and Punic city of Gadir, also has provided in recent years the first evidence of the use of conch aerophones in contexts related to both maritime activities and possibly sacred ceremonies. The presence of such conch trumpets has been attested to in the fill of Well 1, excavated in the rescue dig carried out at a site close to the Punic-Roman salted-fish factory of Plaza de Asdrúbal, on the sandy Atlantic coast of present Cadiz (thus, at the northern end of the island called *Kotinoussa* by the Greek author Timaeus). At least two complete

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specimens of *Charonia* were uncovered in the lower levels of the fill of Well 1 during the archaeological campaign of 2001, in a context linked to the debris discard from funerary feasts and rituals related to the activities of the Punic necropolis of Gadir (Niveau 2006; 2009). The seashells were initially explained as symbolic items associated with the offerings and ceremonies of the surrounding necropolis, although not identified as sound instruments despite having the typical characteristics already described for Mauritanian specimens.

Sounds for Humans: Conch Trumpets in Non-Ritual Context in the Punic West

The discussion of finds from Plaza de Asdrúbal might be useful as a nearly-perfect introduction in an analysis of the uses not directly related to worship or ritual activities in this region of the Strait of Gibraltar. The appearance of shell horns in non-religious contexts has solid archaeological foundations, and its presence has been documented on the southern Iberian shore, as well as in the northern part on the African side. In this group of finds it is remarkable that once again the emergence of an outstanding number of individuals point to the existence of an intimate relationship between the shell aerophones and maritime activities, especially fishing and the fish-salting industry.

Most of this evidence comes from the Bay of Cadiz, where the finds of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic site of La Viña-Cantarranas certify that prehistoric local communities were already using seashells as instruments between the 4th and 3rd millennia BC (Moreno 1995a; 1995b). Thus, as in the rest of the Mediterranean there is no reason to talk about a technology exported by the Phoenicians during the Orientalizing period, but rather a sort of technique already existing in peninsular indigenous communities that might have been enhanced after the presence of the Canaanite settlers by the Late Bronze Age (at least, 9th century BC). We have very significant data on these initial contacts regarding the use of shell horns due to the deposit recorded in Hut 1 of Campillo, an indigenous context dated in the Orientalizing period where a conch aerophone linked to Tartessian (mainly handmade pottery) and Phoenician imports was documented (López Amador *et al.* 1996).

This find in the coastal countryside near the Phoenician colony of Gadir (located on the island of Cadiz) and other major protohistoric villages like Castillo de Doña

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Blanca, demonstrates that from the first steps of Phoenician presence these instruments were used for various purposes in the daily life of the communities settled around the bay. This assumption is further substantiated by the presence of similar shell horns at other nearby sites as Campin Bajo or Villarana (Lopez *et al.* 1995), also dating from the Archaic or early-Punic periods.

The specific functionality of shell horns that existed during the first centuries of Phoenician presence has not been determined with certainty, although recently the relationship of the settlement of Campillo with the exploitation of the coastal resources of the Bay of Cadiz and its own lacustrine-marshy environment has been stressed (López/Ruiz 2010). The relationship among the settlements situated in the coastal zone regarding the exploitation of marine resources of the bay appears much more accentuated in later stages, especially after 6th century BC, where at the north shore of the bay small industrial facilities linked to fishing seasonal tuna and the production of fish by-products proliferated. Such continental factories would have been operating at the same time as those at the Plaza de Asdrúbal and many others located on the island of Cadiz, where the trade of salted fish became one of the economic pillars of the city of Gadir/Gades. Salted fish was a renowned product in the Mediterranean up to Late Antiquity (Sáez 2011a; forthcoming).

The most significant archaeological evidence of the relationship between Triton trumpets and these fisheries/fish-salting settlements have been found at the site of Puerto-19 (Saez/Gutierrez forthcoming), a site fully excavated between 1996 and 1997 (Gutiérrez López 2000). The settlement appears to have been founded sometime in the second half or last third of the 6th century BC in a prominent position close to the ancient coastline, on a consolidated fossilized dune also not far from the fertile agricultural countryside. Its establishment has been characterized by the presence of several pits (filled with ashes and plenty of pottery fragments) located under the main rooms of the complex, perhaps made as a result of ritual practices. Similarly, a small pavement of shells (*Glycymeris* sp.) placed beneath the main salting-vats also belongs to that founding moment, emphasizing the importance of ritual ceremonials during the time of the creation of the industrial facilities.

Over these pits was built a square building with several roofed or open spaces; one of them reserved for a couple of oval salting vats and a large uncovered courtyard where perhaps transport amphora (and other containers) were stored ready to be filled. Furthermore, small pits or accumulations of materials were located related to

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this Phase I of the site, linked to the daily consumption of the fishermen and artisans. These wasters were located not far from the perimeter of the installation., Also there was an external area with a large clay pavement tied to primary processing of catches (uncovered in the 1997 season).

A well-preserved specimen of shell of the genus *Charonia* probably could also be included in the body of evidences provided by Phase I. The seashell, modified into a soundmaker, possibly was abandoned on the pavement at UE 105b sometime during its lifespan (it cannot be completely excluded its amortization during Phase II, over a hypothetical process of reuse of the central room equipped with salting vats of the first building). In any case, most of the material linked to the moment of abandonment of this pavement (layer UE 105a) seems to point towards a chronology centered in late-5th century BC, the period when we consider that the shell horn could have been manufactured and used. The location of the find, in the heart of the installations and almost with direct connection to their own vats, seem to be a significant indication of the importance of the instrument and its possible link to fisheries-related functions.

The specimen (# 622) had a carefully cut apex, without apparent traces of an external mouthpiece having once been inserted, so we must assume that this appendix (if any) would have been made of a material that has not been preserved, or that it was removed before abandoning the item. Some irregular holes located in the middle area of the shell seem to be unintended fractures, of post-depositional origin, without the presence of other intentional boreholes tied to sound modulation or use for the transportation of the conch (Fig. 4). Thus, the obvious modification of the shell, aimed to improve its functioning as a sound emitter seems to support including this seashell in the group of everyday goods of Puerto-19.

This first building was abandoned by the end of the 5th century for reasons not clearly identified, but in the current state of research it seems to be connected with the general restructuring and transformation phenomena in Gadir. On the remains of this first stage was erected a new smaller building with a different orientation, also equipped with a rectangular plan and perhaps a couple of salting vats, very poorly preserved (Phase II). Abandoned as well, is the activity area unearthed in the 1997 season. It seems that the new wasters would have increased in number around the perimeter of the factory, affecting the existing structures and making it difficult to read the most recent part of the stratigraphic sequence of the site.

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So, Phase II, related to the activity of this second building, probably would have extended from the beginning of the 4th and the final section of the 3rd BC, when the settlement was permanently neglected. In the latter stages of life of Puerto-19 (in the central section 3rd BC century or first decades of the second half) the second building also appears to have been abandoned and partially buried (Phase III), being cut by pits and wasters. On the basis of available stratigraphic information it is not possible to specify the morphology of the manufacturing centre in these final decades of activity, due to contemporary (20th century) obliteration of the more superficial layers.

Two specimens of conch aerophones seem to be linked to these latest stages of Puerto-19, although being items that lack a clear date based on typological criteria, there is the possibility that objects with a long-term life cycle or even a residual deposition should not be excluded. This could be the case of one of the individuals, linked to the earthy layers that completely buried the western part of the facility (UE 114), outside the perimeter of the main building of Phase I (Fig. 5). The second of the specimens (# 268) linked to the latest stages of Puerto-19 seems more certain to correspond to Phase III, that is, the activity after the abandonment of the second building built over the initial one. Indeed, the retouched conch was documented inside a pit that partially cut the foundations of the second building, and then mixed with a large amount of pottery and organic debris from the dump, all a blackish colour (UE 126, Pit 5). This third specimen seashell of the gender *Charonia,* was larger than those located in the UE 105b and UE 114, and presented obvious signs of having been transformed into a soundmaking instrument. In this case, in addition of a trimmed apex, the shell showed the presence of an orifice of less than 1 cm in diameter carefully drilled near the nozzle, but it is not possible to ascertain whether this could have been related to a transport/supporting system or to modulate the sounds produced (Fig. 6).

For the rest of the insular area of Cadiz the number of finds is currently limited as well, but their functional/geographical distribution also invites us to be quite optimistic about a future increase in the number of contextualized individuals. Besides the already mentioned specimens of Plaza de Asdrubal, it is worth noting the presence of small conch aerophones in sites located in the southern part of the island of Cadiz (the so called *Antipolis* by Strabo), which are also linked to industrial functions like pottery workshops and salted-fish factories (Sáez 2008; 2011a; 2011b). In particular, we must emphasize its presence in Camposoto (Ramon et al. 2007), where superficial

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layers (UE 001) contained a very fragmentary specimen of small size of *Charonia lampas* (Lozano-Francisco/Vera 2007), with the usual traces of anthropic handling. The shell horn could correspond to some uncertain point in time throughout its prolonged period of use at the site for artisanal functions (at least, 6th-1st century BC).

From inside a well filled out perhaps during early Augustan period or the first steps of the imperial stage comes another of those aerophones documented in the insular territory, in this case linked to site of de la Cerro de la Batería (Fig. 7), on the southern coast of the *Antipolis* (the Punic potters area) in relation to a Roman *villa maritima* (Sáez/Montero 2007; Sáez 2008). It should be noted that most of the material documented in the well suggests that levels and structures removed and thrown inside should correspond mainly to the 2nd/1st centuries BC (which surely included pottery production), possibly as a result of the reconstruction or destruction of any "hybrid-type installation" that included ceramic manufacture and vats for fish salting (Sáez 2011a; forthcoming).

Fishing Activities and Shell Horns in Northern Tingitana

The opposite shore of the Strait, also in the Atlantic, has provided new information on the consumption of *Charonia lampas* shells and the production of conch aerophones. Specifically, the excavations of the last decade of a city of Phoenician origin (Lixus, close to current Larache), have provided a new finding related to a storage area of amphorae located in the upper area of the settlement (Aranegui 2005: 21-29). The excavations of 2001-2002 allowed the partial investigation of a space interpreted as a domestic habitat dating from the middle Mauritanian period (circa 80 BC/AD 10), which was composed of several rooms and a courtyard with a flagstone floor. Such spaces would have been dedicated during the Late Mauritanian period (that is until the Roman conquest in AD 40/42) to other uses related to various artisanal activities, especially metallurgy (Aranegui 2005: 21-29).

The study of archaeomalacological remains recovered in this area of Lixus (Carrasco 2005: 254-261) documented the presence of traces of food consumption (full juveniles) in both late Mauritanian levels (UE 2043) and also Late Roman strata (UE 2018). However, the presence of a specimen in the level UE 2033 (dated to the Middle Mauritanian period, 80 BC/AD 10), belonging to an adult individual that presented the apex cut for use as a sonorous instrument has also been documented.

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According to the excavators, this seashell could have been used by inhabitants of the town "[...] como trompa o instrumento de reclamo, usado sobre todo por los marineros, y como instrumento musical" (Carrasco 2005: 258).

Regarding this soundmaking instrument linked to fishing and navigation, it is noteworthy that the spaces where the conch was documented was linked to a storage area of amphorae, possibly related to commercial racking at the port of Lixus. It is also necessary to point out that the city, just as was the case with Gadir and the Bay of Cadiz, was strongly linked to fishing and fish by-products manufacture from very early times with a significant number of remains related to these activities (Aranegui *et al.* 2006; 2007). In particular, we must stress the fact that probably from the second half of the 1st century BC many salted-fish factories would already have been active in the lower area of settlement, alongside the ancient estuary of the Loukkos River (with marshes perhaps tied to salt production) and not far from the ocean. These factories may have been related mainly to the processing of bluefin tuna and other seasonal fish (Ponsich/Tarradell 1965) due to the exploitation of the rich Atlantic fishing grounds stretching from Lixus to the *Fortunatae Insulae* (Mederos 2007). Thus, maritime trade and fishing could explain the use of these *buccina* by the Punic inhabitants of Lixus.

Just the Beginning of the Score: Notes Still to be Played

The archaeological data gathered in this paper constitutes a first attempt of synthesis on a topic that thus far has barely grabbed the attention of regional researchers, and as a result those conclusions listed here are only preliminary and limited. Nevertheless, some interesting ideas can be raised in this final section, as an overall assessment of the archaeological evidence and its relationship to the socio-economic and religious evolution of this area, from the Phoenician period to the Roman conquest.

It seems obvious in light of this data (Moreno 1995a; 1995b) that on both sides of the Straits the use of shells as instruments was already widespread, from the earliest moments of Phoenician colonisation, and the development of the communities settled in the region. This technique perhaps existed from Neolithic times as it did in many other areas of the Mediterranean. Probably the arrival of Canaanite settlers and the foundation of *emporia* and cities, as well as cultural hybridization with these indigenous populations, would have made the uses of conch aerophones more widespread,

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with new functions and meanings acquired. It would likely be at that moment when a scenario occurred in which seashells were turned into tools used for numerous rituals or profane purposes, perhaps as a result of Western Mediterranean reproduction of a trend already in progress since the beginning of the Iron Age in the eastern Phoenician metropolis (Braun 2002).

From our current perspective, the multipurpose nature of western Triton trumpets can be noticed by the already described coexistence of evidence for their use both in purely ritual contexts (as active part of ceremonials or as offerings), as well as in contexts linked to artisanal duties. In any case, in this regional framework both areas would have been imbued with a religious-mythological veneer of wide-ranging interest, representing maritime shipping, fishing and commerce activities, and closely linked to the protection of specific deities and rituals. In this sense it is necessary to remind the reader of the large amount of archaic/classical myths tied to the unexplored Atlantic Ocean and the commercial transit across the Pillars of Hercules (the latter related to the achievement of his Labours), and also the presence of such a large number of coastal sanctuaries disseminated along the coastline, internationally frequented from the Phoenician period (Belén 2000; Ferrer Albelda 2002; Bernal *et al.* 2008; Gutiérrez López *et al.* 2012).

Cadiz Bay, Lixus and other locations studied in this paper did not escape this fate. In many of them sanctuaries closely related to maritime traffic and deities involved in its protection existed. Thus, this maritime religious character of the communities along the coasts of the Strait of Gibraltar seems to have been fossilized in some texts of later times, as suggested in a fragment transmitted by Pliny during the early Roman imperial period, in which the author makes specific reference to the use of shell horns in the regional marine mythology: "In the time that Tiberius was emperor, there came unto him an ambassador from Olisipo [current Lisbon], sent of purpose to make relation, that upon their sea coast there was discovered within a certain hole, a certain sea goblin, called Triton, sounding a shell like a trumpet or cornet; and that he was in form and shape like those that are commonly painted for Tritons" (Pliny the Elder, *NH* IX.5, transl. H. Rackham, 1952).

The hypothetical functions relating to fishing presumed for the shell horns of Puerto-19 and Lixus (and probably many other locations in the region) constitutes a first significant reference about the quandary of its uses. Even in the precarious state of current data, it can be considered that in this particular case it is possible to

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propose a main functionality for these aerophones: actions for which it was essential for generating powerful sounds, and specialized and repetitive signalling, which would facilitate the coordination and development of collective work.

Specifically, based on ethnographic information from Cadiz Bay (Vera y Chillier 1895) it is possible that these conch trumpets could have played an important role as specialised tools of the *atalayas* stationed in *thynnoskopeia* (watchtowers), responsible for warning of the arrival of the tuna shoals during seasonal migrations. If seashells were used in these fishing activities, conch trumpets could have combined practical functions (signals) with worship. The latter, due to the religious oracular character they might have acquired, Divine design could be a factor, like the annual appearance of tuna shoals in constant dates and routes (Fernández Nieto 2002; Sáez 2009).

Likewise, shell horns could also have been a valuable instrument to coordinate the movements of groups drawing in the tuna traps (called *almadrabas de vista o tiro*), so as to manoeuvre large fishing nets and also to facilitate the successive collecting processes, both from the beach itself or at the hands of the captains responsible for directing the choreography, where they supervised primary and auxiliary boats linked to the tuna fisheries (and probably in general to navigation both coastal or deep-sea fishing).

The use of conch trumpets for worship or in regional sanctuaries has been verified by the finds from northern Tingitana, and maybe by some of the evidence recovered in the Bay of Cadiz. The contexts of Tamuda and Kitane suggest that at least in this area of the northern part of Africa, there was deep influence due to the Phoenician colonisation. If so, these instruments were involved in rituals developed in the domestic sphere from the Punic period (4th-3rd centuries BC), with continuity up to the late-Mauritanian phase (2nd-1st centuries BC). As in the case of use in artisanal roles, it seems likely that these first references to the ritual use of conch trumpets are just the tip of the iceberg of a generalized trend in the entire region; a tendency that should have included not only the major Phoenician-Punic centres but also in their coastal areas of influence and also in the continental hinterland in Iberia and Mauritania.

This is one of the major open research lines that should be developed in the near future regarding the cultic use of shell horns. And in the same way, another issue that is suggested by the available evidence is the need to specify the way in which these aerophones were used in ritual ceremonies (both private/domestic cults and in

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the temples). The current information available for the Eastern Mediterranean (especially for Crete and Cyprus, and also the Syria-Palestinian area, see Aström 1990; Reese 1990) cannot complete the exiguous evidence being handled now concerning the Punic West, where it is not possible to associate rituals or ceremonial activities for specific deities with conch aerophones. In brief, a very open scenario is needed for further monographic research[3] and an exhaustive review of a large number of sites and archaeological contexts already excavated but still unpublished, which have provided significant malacological remains.

To conclude, it is clear that we are in the early stages of regional research on the use of this type of shell horns and similarly instruments, regarding applications both in the realm of ritual/cultic and in other aspects of daily life of the Punic and indigenous communities of the western Mediterranean. The increase of archaeomalacological analysis, even now still scarce, and a higher attention to interpretations of this type of record-deeper than those linked to consumption processes may allow us to expand significantly the distribution map of such items in the near future, also allowing us to clarify features about which in this pages we have barely been able to formulate. Finally, alternative lines of research should be developed, such as experimental archaeology and archaeomusicology, which through the re-creation of the manufacturing methods and the analysis of the sound capabilities of these conch aerophones may provide new evidence that clarifies aspects that are poorly explored or still unknown.

3 Both in relation to this ritual use of shells as well as their participation in fishing activities or daily life could prove very useful in supplying information on possible persistence and evolution in the Roman period, stage for which we have data barely regional level. Probably the culmination of ongoing projects as *SAGENA. Artes de pesca en Andalucía en la Antigüedad. Modelización de la metodología de investigación arqueológica e inicios del corpus documental* (HUM-03015) *(www.sagena.es),* currently still under development, may provide suggestive data about the evolution of ancient fishing, the exploitation of archaeo-ichthyological and archaeomalacological resources and about fishing gears and tackle from the Phoenician period to Late Antiquity (Bernal 2009; 2011; Bekker-Nielsen/Bernal 2010).

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Music and Death
Razors, Stelae and Divinities in the Punic Mediterranean

By Agnès Garcia-Ventura and Mireia López-Bertran

This paper explores the relationship between music and rituals in the Punic world. Despite the abundance of materials linked to music and the profusion of images representing musicians, Phoenician and Punic music are not common topics of research. In this paper we focus our attention on Punic stelae and razors (from the 6th and 2nd centuries BC) in which musicians are represented. We pay special attention to the ones playing membranophones, which are the most frequent. We analyse them from two perspectives. First, we describe the instruments and the musicians in an attempt to define their use and to identify the performers. Second, we hope to shed some light on the role of music in the rituals held in cemeteries, and specifically at the tophet. *More generally, we aim to add some musical accompaniment to the rites of the Ancient Western Mediterranean.*

Phoenician and Punic music are not common topics of research, despite the abundance of materials linked to music and of images representing musicians found in a variety of contexts including terracottas, stelae, and razors. All these materials have been published in catalogues and reports, but the performance of music is mentioned only in passing (for razors and stelae see references in Tabs. 1-2; for terracotta see López-Bertran/Garcia-Ventura 2012, with previous references). It is common to find percussion instruments referred to as "discs", and to find other instruments inaccurately named. For this reason we consider it important to examine materials in which music is the main feature and not a complementary detail.

In recent years, Phoenician and Punic music has begun to arouse some interest among scholars. Publications on the subject include the studies by A. C. Fariselli (2007; 2010), Paolo Bernardini (2012) and ourselves (Garcia-Ventura/López-Bertran

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2009a; 2009b; López-Bertran/Garcia-Ventura 2008; 2012). At the meeting of the ICTM Study Group for Music Archaeology held in Valladolid in 2011, Antonio M. Sáez and José M. Gutiérrez presented a poster on aerophones in Phoenician and Punic contexts (developed also in this volume). In the current paper we focus on Punic stelae and razors representing musicians. To our knowledge, only one previous paper has dealt with this topic, the study by Anna Maria Bisi, published in 1980. Bisi presented the materials in the context of the Ancient Near Eastern and Levantine traditions. As Bisi's paper contains exhaustive descriptions of characters represented in both stelae and razors, here we will not describe all the materials in detail, but rather highlight the features that are most relevant to the interpretations that we offer regarding the contexts and uses of music.

As far as rituals are concerned, we are more interested in what they do than in what they are. As archaeologists, we study material culture and we stress the material dimension of rituals via the concept of ritualization (Bell 1992: 88-93). This term is useful because it avoids the difficulties that archaeologists face in defining rituals; their definitions sometimes reflect the notion that rituals are irrational, abstract entities (Brück 1999; Insoll 2004: 10; Bradley 2005; Kyriakidis 2007: 289). The term "ritualization" emphasizes the need to interpret ritual acts in terms of activities and their kinetic features.

Another important issue that arises in the consideration of the material dimension of rituals is their connection with bodies and the senses (Skeates 2010; Hamilakis *et al.* 2002). Rituals are embodied activities, physical actions that heighten the exploitation of the senses. As bodily practices, rituals are defined as performances. Using a performative perspective is useful because it reinforces the transformative capacities of rituals as well as their sensory and corporeal features (Inomata/Coben 2006; Mitchell 2006). The basic requirements for rituals to become performances are the participation of an audience (human, deities, ancestors, and so on) and the presence of materials (food, objects such as oil-lamps, and votive offerings) and bodies in motion (singing, playing music, walking, praying, eating, and burning). Rituals also take place in specific venues (houses, cemeteries, shrines, and fountains), and in a specific time context, in association with seasons, the Earth's motion (either daily or annual) or with transitory moments in the life cycle (birth, baptism, marriage, death). In this article we metaphorically play some music to accompany the rituals performed in Punic cemeteries and at the *tophet*.

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The Punic Mediterranean

The term "Punic" is used to define the diverse groups of people inhabiting the western Mediterranean, mainly present-day Tunisia, Sardinia, western Sicily, Ibiza, the south of the Iberian Peninsula and the north of Africa between the 6th and the 2nd centuries BC (Fig. 1). The Punic world has traditionally been defined in terms of the colonial influence of Carthage across the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, which is why "Punic" and "Carthaginian" are often used interchangeably in the literature. However, "Punic" is not exclusively related to the citizens of Carthage; it can also refer to the indigenous populations of the different areas, former Phoenician inhabitants of the Carthaginian colonies, Carthaginians themselves, or people from North Africa. Consequently, the term "Punic" does not denote ethnic or political identities, but is best used as an archaeological or historical category (Van Dommelen/Gómez Bellard 2008: 2-12).

Punic societies shared the same material culture and ideology, as their funerary rituals and materials show. In this paper, we concentrate on two case-studies: the razors and the stelae decorated with images of musicians.

Razors

Razors have been found in the cemeteries of Carthage, Sardinia and Ibiza, although the ones bearing musicians are only found in Carthage and Ibiza (Tab. 1, Fig. 2). These objects are made out of bronze and iron and are dated between the 6th and the 3rd centuries BC. They were part of the grave goods and were generally placed near the dead person's head, often wrapped in an esparto bag. Razors have been found in tombs of both men and women. Enrico Acquaro (1971) and Gilbert C. Picard (1967) have studied them in depth and have proposed classifications based on their morphology and decoration. Broadly speaking, two types can be distinguished, the large samples with decoration on both sides, and small ones without decoration. The larger specimens are considered to have been created for ritual purposes only, as no signs of wear have been identified, whereas the smaller ones bear traces of sharpening and may well have been in daily use (Miguel 2006: 22).

The razors have no parallel in earlier Phoenician cultures, though a precedent has been identified in the Egyptian implements dating from the New Kingdom period (1550-1069 BC). Certain reliefs from this time show that razors were used

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to shave off hair but not the beard (*ibid*.: 16-17). For the Punics, they had a votive function; they may have been used for removing the hair of the deceased in order to purify the bodies (Acquaro 1971; Picard 1967). Another hypothesis is that the razors were intended to remove hair and to present it to divinities; thus, the hair removed became votive offerings (Tarradell/Font 1975: 183-184). Due to their symbolic significance, it has been suggested that the razors also had magical properties and may have been used as amulets hanging on necklaces. They may have been used in non-funerary rituals as well (Picard 1958: 56-57). In the following sections, we will explore in more depth the relationship between these pieces and the presence of music in funerary rituals.

Stelae

A stela is an upright ashlar stone or slab used as a mnemonic device. They can be inscribed or decorated. In the Punic culture they usually are markers of tombs. Punic funerary stelae are found in *tophets* and are basically a central Mediterranean phenomenon. They have been found in the *tophets* of Carthage, Sardinia (Tharros, Sulky, Monte Sirai and Nora) and Sicily (Mozia) (Tab. 2, Fig. 3). They were produced over a long period, from the 6th to the 3rd centuries BC; typologically they present Egyptian, Cypriot, and Greek influences (and even a Roman influence in the latest cases). From the iconographical point of view, they have been divided into two main groups: on the one hand, aniconic monuments with non-human and naturalistic representations like the symbol of Tinnit (the Phoenician and Punic goddess) or baetylus, caduceus or the *idolo bottiglia* or bottle idol; on the other, iconic ones showing women, men and children in different positions and decorations (Bisi 1967; Moscati 1986). Some of them also bear inscriptions.

Their location in the *tophet* is particularly interesting. According to certain ancient Graeco-Roman sources and the Old Testament, these sites were special cemeteries for children who had been sacrificed to the gods. The definition of the *tophet* and the question of whether the Punics committed infanticide have aroused considerable debate (for a detailed review of the main references see Bonnet 2011: 373). However, recent studies have left this discussion behind and agree that *tophets* were sacred places located *intra muros* and dedicated to the god Baal Hammon and sometimes to the goddess Tinnit. They comprised a small shrine for worship and several buried urns marked by stelae. The urns contain bones of humans, mainly

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Site	Context	Chronology	Musical instrument and musician	Catalogue-Nr. (Acquaro 1971)	References*
Carthage (Tunisia)	Necropolis Sainte Monique	4th century BC	satyr playing a pipe	Ca 33	Acquaro (1971)
Carthage (Tunisia)	Necropolis Ard el-Kheraïb	end of 4th century BC	human figure (probably a male) playing a lyre	Ca 39	Acquaro (1971)
Carthage (Tunisia)	Necropolis Sainte Monique	beginning of 3rd century BC	woman playing hand-drum	Ca 52	Acquaro (1971); Bisi (1980)
Carthage (Tunisia)	Necropolis Sainte Monique	beginning of 3rd century BC	woman playing hand-drum	Ca 57	Acquaro (1971); Bisi (1980); Fariselli (2007)
Ibiza (Balearic Islands, Spain)	Unknown necropolis	3th century BC	woman playing hand-drum	Sp 71	Acquaro (1971); Bisi (1980); Fariselli (2007)

Tab. 1 Razors with musicians represented (we only collect those references where musical iconography of the representations is discussed).*

Site	Context	Chronology	Number of stelae*	Musical instrument and musician	References*
Mozia (Sicily)	*Tophet*	6th-5th centuries BC	12	woman playing hand-drum	Moscati/ Uberti (1981)
Monte Sirai (Sardinia)	*Tophet*	5th-3rd centuries BC	16 (+ 7?)	woman playing hand-drum	Bondí (1972)
Nora (Sardinia)	*Tophet*	6th-4th centuries BC	7	woman playing hand-drum	Moscati (1970)
Carthage (Tunisia)	*Tophet*	5th-2nd centuries BC	4 (+ 4?)	woman playing hand-drum	Picard (1976-1979); Bisi (1967); Bartoloni (1976)
Sulky (Sardinia)	*Tophet*	6th-3rd centuries BC	c. 250	woman playing hand-drum	Moscati (1986); Lilliu (1944)
Tharros (Sardinia)	*Tophet*	6th-3rd centuries BC	1	woman playing hand-drum	Moscati/ Uberti (1985)
Hadrumetum (Tunisia)	*Tophet*	5th century BC	2	woman playing hand-drum	Cintas (1945); Bisi (1967)

Tab. 2 Distribution of stelae with hand-drummers (number of stelae according to the references; the unclear ones appear with this sign: +?).*

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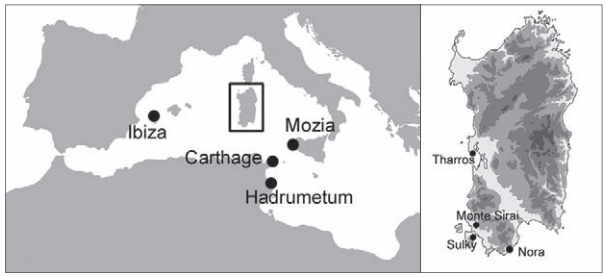

Fig. 1 Map showing the sites mentioned.

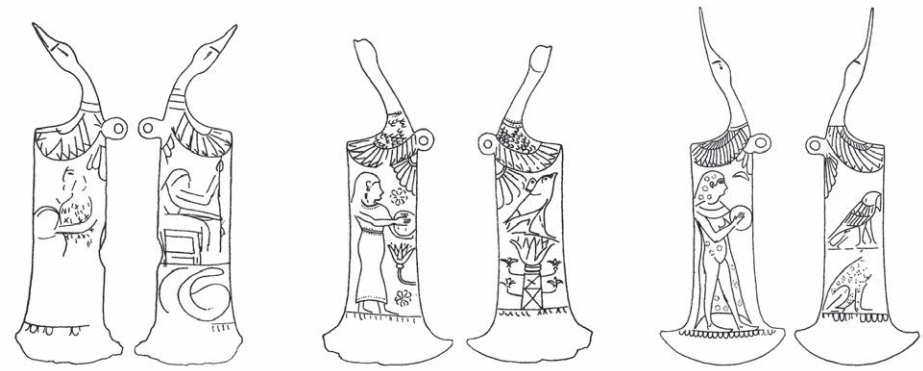

Fig. 2 Razors with female hand-drummers. After Acquaro (1971: Figs. 22.2-Ca52, 25.1-Ca57, 79.3-Sp71).

Fig. 3 Some stelae from Mozia and Sulky with female hand-drummers. After Moscati (1988: 321, 323).

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children, and animals (*ibid*.: 374). In view of the complexity and variability of each *tophet,* authors have stressed that the term is only a general label (Oggiano/Xella 2009).

Musical Instruments

In both stelae and razors, the most commonly represented musical instruments are membranophones. Aerophones and chordophones are only occasionally found. In a sample of five razors and about 300 stelae, there is only one example of an aerophone (Acquaro 1971: Ca 33) and one chordophone (*ibid*.: Ca 39) and both are on razors from Carthage (see Tab. 1). In these examples the musicians are male, in contrast to the other 300 or so pieces that represent females playing percussion instruments (see below for further discussion on gender and musicians). Indeed, the stelae only offer images of membranophones (see Tab. 2). For this reason, here we will concentrate on this type of instrument.

We propose to identify the membranophones represented here as hand-drums. They are presented in various sizes and are held and played in different positions. In some cases, as we will describe below, we propose that these different positions reflect conventions regarding representation more than postures actually adopted in order to play music. In the catalogues of stelae and razors these instruments are never labelled as hand-drums, but merely as discs (Bondì 1972) or as tambourines (Acquaro 1971; Moscati/Uberti 1985). Much the same can be said of the clay figurines from Ibiza playing hand-drums. In this latter case, the instruments have been labelled as *tympanon* or tambourines, depending on their size (Almagro Gorbea 1980: 83-87), but not, once again, as hand-drums. Moreover, in the only paper dealing with representations of musicians on both razors and stelae (Bisi 1980), the author also uses *tympanon*.

Comparing our figurines with some 1st millennium BC specimens from ancient Israel, we find some notable similarities. The females represented hold the same type of musical instrument, which has been identified as a hand-drum (Meyers 1993: 53; Paz 2007: 11). For this reason we consider that the use of *tympanon,* a Greek word, is inappropriate to describe an instrument whose origin is earlier than that attested in Greek sources and which was widely used in many geographical contexts. In other words, these instruments and the representations were initially influenced more by

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Ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian usages than by Greek ones. Robert Anderson notes that in Egypt, for example, the first representation of a membranophone is found in Beni Hasan tomb paintings from the 12th Dynasty (mid 2nd millennium BC, Anderson 1995: 2559). Regarding Mesopotamia, Anne D. Kilmer also mentions examples from the 3rd millennium onwards depicting women playing hand-drums (Kilmer 1995: 2602-2603).

Nor should these instruments really be labelled as tambourines. This imprecision is common in archaeological literature that does not deal specifically with the performance of music (cf. Meyers 1993: 55). But even Anderson, in a specialized paper about musical performance in Egypt, associates the use of the tambourine with women mourners from the New Kingdom period in Egypt until Graeco-Roman times. It seems to us that Anderson is probably confusing tambourines and hand-drums, in view of certain well-known Egyptian paintings and reliefs (for an analysis of images and textual sources on the topic, see Teeter 1993, especially pp. 75-76 for percussion instruments) and some arguments that we will develop in more detail below. First of all the representations do not contain small pieces around the ring of the hand-drum, the distinctive element of a tambourine. Second, it seems that there is no evidence of tambourines as we know them today until the 13th century AD (Sendrey 1969: 373; Meyers 1993: 53). Third, the Bible and some texts from Ancient Mesopotamia describe hand-drums and the raw materials and techniques used to manufacture them (Sendrey/Norton 1964: 129-130; Sendrey 1969: 372-375; Mirelman 2010).

Despite all these arguments, the state of preservation of some of the stelae is precarious, and in all likelihood some of the disc-shaped objects did not originally represent hand-drums. Carol Meyers (1993: 55) alludes to the position of the hands as an element to identify other possibilities, but again this is difficult to establish (sometimes almost impossible) for some artefacts. Anna Chiara Fariselli (2007: 33) uses the same argument and discusses the instruments represented in razors Ca 57 and Sp 71 (Acquaro 1971), identifying them as hand-drums and cymbals respectively. But despite our caution, we deal with the representations as a set and we consider that probably most of them, even the most damaged ones, depicted hand-drum players.

As for the way these instruments are held by the women represented in stelae and razors, two positions can be identified. Usually they are presented frontally, holding the hand-drum with the left hand and touching its centre as if playing it (see López-Bertran/Garcia-Ventura 2012, hand-drum 1 in our classification of figurines).

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In some cases both hands are used to hold the instruments. Less commonly they are represented in profile, holding the drum at the side of the body (see Bisi 1967 and Bondí 1972 for stelae; see Acquaro 1971 for razors). This position is more dynamic because it gives the idea of walking or dancing while playing the instrument. Interestingly, this type is not represented in the terracottas. There is a third option, which is found only in Sulky: women are represented frontally, but the hand-drum is on their left-hand side (Moscati, 1986: 64; this type is similar to the hand-drum 2 type in our classification of figurines, see López-Bertran/Garcia-Ventura 2012).

Musical Performers

In the razors and stelae analysed here, only females are represented playing hand-drums. Of course this does not necessarily mean that the instrument was played exclusively by females; however, as the context of the razors and stelae is a funerary one, we contend that the choice explicitly reflects the close relationship between women and mourning and the role that females played in funerary rites. In fact, the instruments themselves, drums, are associated with mourning (Sendrey/Norton 1964: 111-112, 120; López-Bertran/Garcia-Ventura 2012: 401-403). In addition, the razors contain certain elements and characters linked to death and the afterlife. Three of the razors analysed here (Acquaro 1971: Ca 33, Ca 39, Ca 57) contain images of lotus flowers. Lotus flowers are ubiquitous in art from Ancient Egypt and are among the elements that appear in the Book of the Dead "as an expression of the hope of rebirth" (Lurker 1980: 78). Another element common to four of the razors (Acquaro 1971: Ca 33, Ca 39, Ca 57, Sp 71) is Horus, the falcon-god represented as a falcon or as the *udjat-* or *wedjat-* eye, the "lord of the sky", the symbol of divine kingship and the symbol of healing and protection common in mummies, amulets and coffins (Hart 2005: 71-73; Shaw/Nicholson 2008 [1995]: 150-151).

At this point, then, we propose that female musicians were associated with hand-drums in funerary contexts, but that men played the same instrument in other contexts, as happened in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Ancient Israel (for some references to the diverse contexts of performance, see among others Anderson 1980: 72; 1995: 2567-2568; Meyers 1993: 58-63; Kilmer 1995: 2604-2605). In any case, it has been suggested that in Canaanite and Cypriot traditions female performers were probably linked with hand-drum playing in the mid-2nd millennium BC (Meyers 1991: 22;

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Meyers 1993: 62). This link would have been strengthened over the centuries and its results are evident in the materials here under analysis.

In addition, it seems that the percentage of female musicians represented in visual sources in the Ancient Near East increased during the 2nd millennium BC. The Phoenician and Punic representations of musicians may well follow this trend, despite the geographical and chronological distance. This phenomenon has been widely studied for Egypt: the musicians represented during the Old Kingdom tended to be male rather than female, but the situation was reversed during the New Kingdom period (Anderson 1980: 70-75; Teeter 1993: 69-86).

It is widely agreed that the iconography of the stelae has clear Egyptian and Cypriot influences (Bisi 1967; 1980: 60-61; Bondì 1972; Moscati 1970; 1986). Certain samples, especially those in Sulky, also reflect Greek fashions (for example, the existence of hand-drum 2 in carvings). Razors, on the other hand, are clearly inspired by the fashions of New Kingdom Egypt (Acquaro 1971; 1995: 207; Miguel 2006: 16-22).

As regards the identity of the females represented in razors, A.M. Bisi identifies them with goddesses due to their clothing and hairstyle (Bisi 1980: 64, 66). It has also been suggested that the terracotta musical figurines playing hand-drums represented the Phoenician and Punic goddess Astarte (Ferron 1969: 23; although Bisi [1980: 58] questions this interpretation for these specific materials). As for the stelae, Sabatino Moscati (1986: 63-64) proposes identifying these figures as priestesses instead of goddesses, although he does not explain why. However, the hand-drum was played in a multitude of contexts and, as we will see below, the clothing and hairstyle of these representations cannot be clearly linked to goddesses or priestesses as they were also widespread among mortal women. Another argument for considering the performers of the stelae as mortals and not goddesses is that the divinities of the *tophet* are Baal Hammon and Tinnit, and the latter is represented with her sign on the stelae (a triangle with a circle above it and two rectangles as arms). As a consequence, perhaps the female musicians are priestesses of Tinnit rather than divinities themselves.

In any case, as we have discussed elsewhere (López-Bertran/Garcia-Ventura 2008: 30; 2012: 397-401), we should avoid the automatic identification of female figurines with deities, because the evidence available is insufficient, the images could be either goddesses or real women (Goodison/Morris 1999; Knapp 2011: 122). Limiting the consideration of their depiction to divinities is the result of a 19th-century fashion of applying the traditional dual system of man-culture versus woman-nature. We argue

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that subscribing to these dualities is a way of continuing these preconceptions, which disregards the fact that this system of dualities is itself a socio-cultural construct that was probably not in operation in Punic times. Moreover, the images of gods and goddesses change over time because they are always based on the depictions of real men and women. We cannot state with certainty whom these figurines represented, that is, whether they were priestesses or ordinary people. Any answer is a matter of speculation. What is clear, though, is that we should avoid an automatic, uncritical identification of these instrument-playing figurines with deities; instead, we should consider the possibility of other interpretations (for proposals concerning female hand-drum players, see Meyers 1993: 50; Averett 2002-2004: 14; Paz 2007: 76-78, 118-119).

As far as the appearance of the characters depicted is concerned, the stelae bear mainly plain, simplified representations while the razors present more elaborate ones. Beginning with the stelae, most representations give a two-dimensional feeling despite being three-dimensional. As regards the musicians' attire, some of them appear dressed while others are naked (Monte Sirai, Sulky and Nora) (Bondì 1972: 75). The naked ones are identified as such mainly due to their visible legs, but they are not represented in detail or are in a poor state of preservation (see for example Bondì 1972, stelae 17 and 18 from Monte Sirai). Bisi (1980: 59) explains that female bodies were represented naked and with evident vulvas when playing drums in the Ancient Near East until the last quarter of the 2nd millennium BC, when they began to appear clothed (cf. Kilmer 1995: 2602-2603). Perhaps the stelae partly represent this Ancient Near Eastern legacy, with their depiction of naked female drummers, and the transition towards customs that were more common during the 1st millennium BC, reflected in the presence of dressed figures.

The musicians who appear dressed wear plain, loose-fitting clothes. Exceptions are two stelae from Sulky, where stelae with carved female musicians are more frequent. In the first one, the musician wears a pleated sheath dress (Moscati 1986: stele 289). In the second, the musician wears a slightly pleated tunic and a veil (*ibid.*: stele 245). Neither pleated cloths nor sheath dresses or veils are common in the stelae. In the terracottas, in contrast, the musicians always wear rich clothes and are decorated with jewellery and headdresses (Garcia-Ventura/López-Bertran 2009a: 131). On the stelae the clothes are mostly long tunics, occasionally with the addition of a veil. This rather plain clothing for hand-drum players has been interpreted by Meyer as

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proof that the musicians represented were women rather than goddesses (Meyer 1993: 54). In some cases, legs and bare feet can be distinguished, and also a small plinth on which the women are placed. This last detail is common in Sulky (see for example Moscati 1986: stelae 245, 263, 265, 268, among others) and almost inexistent in Monte Sirai (see for example Bondì 1972: stelae 25 and 26). Probably this difference was due more to technical difficulties than to a deliberate choice.

As regards hairstyles, the terracottas (López-Bertran/Garcia-Ventura, forthcoming) present a wider variety than the stelae, perhaps due to the difficulties in carving the stone. Figures on the stelae are represented with hair on both sides of the head, falling to the shoulders or over the face (see for example Bondì 1976: stele 33; Moscati/Uberti 1981: stelae 901 and 903; Moscati 1986: stelae 261 and 268). A few have short hair (especially in Sulky) (Moscati 1986: 61). In some cases, again due to the simplicity of the carving or the poor state of preservation, it is impossible to distinguish whether the figures had short hair or whether they wore their hair tied back (see for example Moscati 1986: stele 299 or Moscati/Uberti 1981: stele 902). In some cases we may wonder whether some of the musicians represented on stelae wore wigs, the so-called *klaft* (see for example Moscati 1986: stele 265), a common feature of Egyptian paintings and reliefs (as a classical reference on Ancient Egyptian hairstyles, see Boucher 1965: 96).

Moving on now to razors, as mentioned above, the attire follows Egyptian styles (Acquaro 1971: razors Ca 52, Ca 57 and Sp 71; Miguel 2006: 285). All musicians are represented in profile. As regards hairstyles, all the figures seem to have worn Egyptian style wigs. Despite these points of convergence, there are some differences in the clothes they wear. Razor Ca 52 is not well preserved and we cannot distinguish the shape of the cloth. What is clear is that it is patterned, a feature we also find in razor Sp 71. Egyptian textiles were mainly made of linen, without dyes and without patterns. Only in the late New Kingdom do we find representations of coloured and patterned textiles (Hall 1986: 23). Therefore, the razors reflect this trend in fashion.

The shape and thickness of the garments represented in razors Ca 57 and Sp 71 suggest that they are quite different types of clothing. The garment of the musician represented in Ca 57 is thicker and is tightened at the waist with a belt. In Sp 71 the garment is a transparent bag-tunic, similar to the one represented in a stele from Tharros (Moscati/Uberti 1985: stele 141). These light, diaphanous clothes became more common in Egypt during the reign of Amenhotep III (ca. 1390-1352 BC)

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replacing sheath-dresses (Shaw/Nicholson 2008 [1995]: 76). In other words, sheath-dresses were more widespread in Egypt until the beginning of the New Kingdom, when we find more representations of bag-tunics (Hall 1986: 22; Rooijakkers 2008: 13). An explanation for this change would be a possible connection between the appearance of bag-tunics and that of the vertical loom (Rooijakkers 2008: 23). These bag-tunics had no sleeves, they were sewn to the main piece of cloth only when necessary (*ibid*.: 17-18) if the weather or the working conditions of the wearer required it, or because of the cultural context, and then removed when no longer needed.

Bisi (1980: 64) interprets the transparent patterned garment of Sp 71 as a legacy of an ancient Mesopotamian tradition of representing fertility goddesses naked. However, as we discussed above, we believe that these images represent real women rather than goddesses. We agree with Emily Teeter that is not possible to draw conclusions about the status of female musicians on the strength of the transparency of their clothes, that is to say, "based upon level of dress or undress of female musicians, for nudity, or near nudity, was an accepted form of fashion for women throughout Egyptian history" (Teeter 1993: 89; cf. *ibid*.: 83 for changes in fashions of female musicians in Egypt in different periods). In addition, these transparent garments pose a question about the thin line separating the states of being clothed and being dressed, and suggest that these concepts are cultural constructs that change over time. Tineke Rooijakkers notes that in Ancient Egypt transparency was more common in women's clothes than in men's. Women's clothes often exposed the genitals, but in the case of men this was only customary among the lower classes. Rooijakkers (2008: 38-39) also proposes that bag-tunics were probably preferred to sheath-dresses because all social classes used clingy, perfumed oils. Another possibility, suggested by Hall (1986: 22), is that these representations were not realistic.

Rituals and Music

As we have already stated, there are five samples of razors with representations of musicians. Regardless of their identification with divinities, it seems clear that shaving was a ritual performance that took place during funerary events. Indeed, certain written references explain that the Carthage temples included "sacred barbers" among the temple staff; in the temple of Kition, there is an inscription that refers to beards as votive offerings (Tarradell/Font 1975: 183-184).

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Dead bodies were transformed and prepared for the other world by being cleaned, perfumed, made up, and shaved (Bénichou-Safar 1982: 273-278). In Canaan, Ancient Greece and Rome the data shows that cutting hair was a rite of passage that transformed the social status of people (Grotanelli 1977: 14). In Punic eschatology, the soul is double, the *nefesh* lives in the tomb, and the *rouah* goes to the otherworld. Thus, we can argue that razors might be proof of one of the rituals to prepare the *rouah*. The soul that goes to the otherworld has to be clean and purified, and this process may well include depilation.

What role does music play in these rituals? The fact that some razors are decorated with hand-drummers may indicate that the ritual to prepare the corpse for the other world was accompanied by music, mostly drums. The music could be real (performed by female musicians) or symbolic (played by divinities). The important point is to stress the presence of music in the otherworldly journeys. As we stated elsewhere (López-Bertran/Garcia-Ventura 2012: 398), it is natural that the most frequently represented instrument is the hand-drum because of the purifying properties attributed to its sound. The ritual of body preparation was performed with music and might be accompanied by the Lino, a Phoenician-Cypriot funerary chant described by Herodotus (II, 79) (Fariselli 2010: 17).

In the *tophet,* music may have played a slightly different role. In the funerary rituals in the cemeteries, rites are focused on looking after the deceased, whereas people go to the *tophet* to ask for a divine favour or to give thanks to the gods. Thus, the person being buried is treated as an object devoted to the gods and the rituals follow the premise of "*do ut des*". This essential trait came to light thanks to the study of inscriptions. They are not funerary, as they do not mention the genealogy of the deceased, but votive, as they include personal data referring to the offeror (Bonnet 2011: 384, Oggiano/Xella 2009: 198). In our view, this trait is significant and suggests that music plays a different role in this context than it does in the cemeteries.

The iconography of hand-drummers may represent the existence of music in such rituals (Fig. 3). Indeed, some classical authors described the presence of musicians in the Carthaginian *tophet* in relation to infanticide (Fantar 1993: 324-223). Plutarch (*De superst.* 15) for instance, wrote that music was performed in order to silence the shouts and the crying of children to be sacrificed and of their mothers (Bernardini 2012: 67). Related material culture also provides some evidence. A small

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bell has been found close to an urn in the Salammbó *tophet* in Carthage. In addition, on a stele of *Aziz ben Tallis* (Algeria) two cymbals are represented together with an altar and the tools for sacrifice (Bénichou-Safar 2004: 158). People in dancing poses and wearing masks are also engraved on the stelae, particularly in Mozia (Sicily) (Bernardini 2005: 68; Bernardini 2012: 383).

As we noted above, the performers are female. In general, when the stelae have anthropomorphic iconographies they tend to be female. For instance, in Sulky the ratio between men and women is 1 to 10 (Bartoloni 1986). However, the offerors are mostly men, as the inscriptions suggested, and if they are women, they appear with their husband or father (Bénichou-Safar 2004: 150). This unequal ratio is borne out in the inscriptions of the *tophet* of Carthage, in which only 10% of the inscriptions are dedicated by women (Amadazi Guzzo 1988: 144).

Although women are not the offerors, their role in the *tophet* rituals must have been very active and it may have been related to maternity and the community features of the shrine itself. On the one hand, the playing of drums by women may be a rite that reinforces their fertility (Paz 2007: 118 and 125 for arguments against and in favour respectively). It has also been suggested that actions at the *tophet* bring people into touch with divinities by maintaining a sense of community through remembrance and through the search for communal welfare. Seen from this perspective, female hand-drummers represent a key element for two reasons: firstly, the sound of the cymbals reinforces the feeling of community when dancing, praying or singing to its rhythm; second, women are essential in maintaining genealogies and families. So music was essential in creating a proper ritual atmosphere able to tie the community together.

However, a striking feature is the large variability in the number of stelae with hand-drummers. In general, this iconography is not abundant, except at Sulky (see Fig. 3). We think that this difference reinforces the idea that each *tophet* has to be studied in its own political, social and cultural context. The variation of iconographies depends on aesthetic preferences, social strategies or moral considerations (Bonnet 2011: 379). With this in mind, we might say that although music is an ever-present feature of the rites of the *tophet,* the role and the significance of the hand-drummers may vary.

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Some Thoughts on Punic Music, Rituals and Death

The various materials discussed here that bear representations of female musicians present both similarities and some differences. The first similarity is that most of the musicians depicted are women. The second is that the musical instrument represented in most materials is a percussion instrument, in our view a hand-drum. The third is that all the materials (terracottas, razors and stelae) are linked to funerary rituals and to rituals connected with the dead. We contend, then, that the link between death, women and hand-drums is made evident through these similarities.

However, besides these points of convergence, there are major differences in terms of the detail of the representations and, as a consequence, of the decoration of the females depicted. While the women represented in the figurines are richly dressed and adorned with necklaces and headdresses, those represented in the stelae wear simple dress and only occasionally wear decoration. Even more different are the female musicians represented in razors, as they follow the Egyptian fashion. We wonder whether these differences in the representations correspond to differences in status. What is more, the raw materials and other circumstances probably affected the detail of the representations. Taking into account these differences we wonder whether female gender may have been more significant than status with regard to the performance of music in certain ritual contexts. At this point, then, we consider the points of convergence to be relevant; they show that death has an egalitarian power, as it affects all social groups in the same way. So it seems fair to say that the similarities were more significant than the differences in rituals related to death and to the dead.

Punic material culture gives us some clues regarding the presence and function of music in ritual contexts. On the one hand, the razors bearing hand-drummers support the role of music in funerary contexts. Rituals of death may well have been very intense, walking to the cemeteries, mourning the deceased and preparing him/her for the afterlife were accompanied by the music of hand-drums, pipes and the sounds of mourning and weeping (López-Bertran/Garcia-Ventura 2012). In this context, music might have been performed for a variety of reasons, but it seems quite clear to us that the sound of music was important for purification and for magical purposes such as warding off evil.

On the other hand, the inscriptions suggest that the playing of music at the *tophet* may not have been related to the dead person, but to the living. The rituals performed

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may have been related to the concern of Punic society with maintaining genealogies in a colonial context, and this is why each *tophet* presents unique features of its own. In this regard, the stelae bearing women playing hand-drums may reinforce the role of music as a means of communication between people and divinities and may also encourage the creation of a sense of belonging in communities which, as the inscriptions show, are diverse and multicultural, containing people of high and low status, foreigners and former slaves (Amadasi Guzzo 1988). We also stress the connection between women and music, it is possible that the figures depicted represent mothers burying their babies, and expressing the pain of their loss through music, through the sound of a hand-drum.

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Paestum
Ritual Music in Honour of the Dead

By Daniela Castaldo

Several pieces of evidence found in the necropolises of Poseidonia-Paestum enable scholars to point out some elements regarding music of ancient peoples inhabiting the Campania region. The frescoes decorating some of the wealthiest tombs allude to the religious beliefs, the culture and the lifestyles of the elites leading Paestum until the 273 BC, when it became a Latin colony. The symposion *scene portrayed in the Diver's tomb (480-470 BC) shows a strong influence from the Greek world: here music, especially that played on the barbiton-lyre and* auloi, *is one of the pleasures connected with the occasion, together with drink and love. Other themes are portrayed in the Lucanian tomb, dated from the end of the 5th century: one can find musical elements, for example, in the funeral games organized to honour the deceased. Several boxing matches took place in the presence of an aulos-player wearing the* phorbeia, *who is synchronised rhythmically with the movement of the boxers. In some other cases the boxing scene with the musician perhaps alludes to a sort of popular theatrical performance. In the presentations of* prothesis, *the showing of the deceased, the aulos music probably rhythmically mimicked the gestures of women crying over the deceased, and otherwise accompanied the funeral lamentations.*

The painted tombs of Poseidonia-Paestum offer us much food for thought regarding the music of ancient peoples inhabiting the Campania region. Poseidonia was founded at the end of the 7th century BC on the Tirrenian sea, in the Gulf of Salerno, by the Sybarites who came from Greece. In the second half of the 4th century the Lucanians (D'Agostino 1988; Cerchiai 1995; Cipriani/Longo 1996), an indigenous people living in the Basilicata Region, invaded Campania and conquered Poseidonia, changing its name to Paestum. The outskirts of the town, which were extensively developed until the 5th century BC, as the important architectural structures dedicated to both civic and religious life attest, included necropolises and a great number of tombs dating from the 7th century to the 4th-3rd.

The study of the painted scenes decorating some of them (Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1981; Pontrandolfo 1988; 1995), and the grave goods which were disposed in order to honour the deceased, enables scholars to point out elements concerning religious

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beliefs, the culture and the style of life of the elites ruling Paestum until 273 BC, when it became a Latin colony.

The most famous example, the Diver's tomb (480-470 BC) (D'Agostino 1982; Greco 1982; Cerchiai 1987; Ross Holloway 2006), dating back to the years before the arrival of the Lucanians, is a *unicum*. This tomb takes its name from the diver portrayed on the lid, and the dive alludes to one taken beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the limits of the inhabited world, which was surrounded by the river Oceanus. It is situated in an isolated position in relation to the other necropolises and it was probably destined to be the burial for a non-indigenous, in other words, foreign person, probably from Greece, as the presence of only a few and simple grave goods attests. In fact, it includes an attic *lekythos,* two fragmentary *aryballoi* and pieces of a tortoise shell with some metallic elements used as the sound box of a lyre. The latter elements, as well as the scenes painted on the walls of the tomb, are related to the *symposion,* whereas the *lekythos* and the *aryballoi,* two types of balm or perfume holders, are linked to the gymnasium.

The subject portrayed on the four walls of the tomb, a *symposion,* suggests a strong influence from the Greek world. On both of the longer walls are four men, some of whom are holding musical instruments and reclining on a *klinai*. The *barbiton*-lyre painted on the north wall has a rather unusual shape, in fact, the seven strings are not tied to the straight yoke, which is standard for this type of instrument, but instead are tied to an arc formed by the two arms themselves. On the south wall, one banqueter blows into a double aulos, while another holds a "canonically" shaped *barbiton* on his legs (Fig. 1). In his left hand, this individual also holds a round object that has been interpreted as either an egg or a plectrum, leaving the viewer with the impression that he plays a string instrument.[1] On one of the shorter walls two men are shown leaving the *symposion,* preceded by a young musician playing the aulos. On the other shorter wall is a young cup-bearer standing next to a large crater on a table.

The banquet is a common theme in Attic pottery, where it has no funerary connotations but rather refers to the life-style of the aristocracy. Symbolic meanings, related to Orphic and Pythagorean ontology, have been proposed, given some details in the Paestum fresco, such as the egg in the right hand of the banqueter, the number ten referring to the banqueters and the number seven referring to the strings of the musical instrument (Pontrandolfo 1995: 185; Murray 1998: 239-257). Without discussing

1 In some cases the egg is represented in Attic pottery. See, for example, Attic red-figure crater, Firenze, Archaeological Museum, inv. 3999 (Beazley Database 202883, cited also by Ross Holloway 2006: 379).

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these hypothesis of Orphic or Pythagorean, it is clear that in this case the *symposion* scene, which must be connected to the theme of the Diver's tomb on the lid, might be revealing an eschatological and funerary connotation (Rouveret 1974: 21; Ross Holloway 2006: 378-380). On the one hand, it seems clear that the deceased belonged to the socially and culturally defined group of the *hetairoi,* the aristocratic elite, taking part in the *symposion,* on the other, the dive portrayed on the lid seems linked to the mundane *symposion* of the Underworld (Pontrandolfo 1996: 458-460). This theme follows the traditional iconography present on Attic pottery, where it has no funerary meaning, and thus can be interpreted as an important moment both in the life of the blessed in the Underworld and in actual burial rites. Some references to the link between death and the *symposion* can also be found in Greek literature, where death is sometimes evoked through images showing the absence of the pleasures connected with such convivial occasions, in other words, drink, love and music. One can read, for example, in a choral lyric fragment by Theognis (second half of the 6th century BC, Murray 1988: 240-241): "No man, once the earth has covered him and he has gone down into the darkness, the home of Persephone, has the pleasure of listening to lyre or aulos player or of raising to his lips the gift of Dionysus" (Theognis: 973-976, transl. by Gerber Douglas). Another allusion to death as an absence of the music played and heard at the *symposion* is expressed in a further anonymous fragment of choral lyric, perhaps a *threnos*: "Then he will lie in the deep-rooted earth, and share no more in the *symposion,* nor hear the lyre, and the sweet cry of the *auloi*" (fragment 1009, transl. by Gerber Douglas; see also Hom. *Od.* IX 5). If not only Greek iconography was adopted in the Diver tomb, but also its meaning without funerary implications, then these frescoes may be interpreted as an "assertion of life against death", showing an "attitude of defiance rather than loss" (Pontrandolfo 1995: 185; Pontrandolfo 1996: 458-460; see also Murray 1988: 248-49).

We would also like to point out the presence of music, especially the kind played on the lyre and *auloi,* as an element, together with love and wine, which characterized the *symposion.* Concerning the necropolis of Tempa del Prete, several pieces of evidence suggest that the lyre from the Diver's tomb is not a unique case since some fragments of turtle shell, together with metallic elements, came to light in two coeval tombs (Bellia 2012: 55, footnote 239). Two musical instruments and an *alabastron,* were lying in tomb 21. They were part of a lyre sound-box and two pipes of an aulos made from the bones of deer (*ibid.*: 99) (Fig. 2).[2]

2 Paestum, Archaeological Museum, inv. 23068, 23069, 2307.

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Fig. 1 A banqueter holding a barbiton. *Fresco from Diver's Tomb, detail of the south wall.*

Fig. 2 Two pipes of an aulos. Find from the tomb 21, Tempa del Prete necropolis.

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a

b

Fig. 3 a) Two boxers are fighting in front of an aulos-player wearing the phorbeia; *b) detail. Fresco from the tomb 24/1971, Andriuolo necropolis.*

Fig. 4 Two boxers are fighting near a naked aulos-player. Fresco from the tomb 1, Arcioni necropolis.

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a b

Fig. 5 a) An auletes *plays while facing an actor wearing a mask and cloak; b) detail. Fresco from the tomb 53, Andriuolo necropolis.*

Fig. 6 Dionysos holding the two pipes of an aulos and a mask. Paestan Oinochoe, Paestum, inv. 26633 (from Cipriani/Longo 1996: 60).

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Fig. 7 Two women are mourning near the death-bed. Fresco from the tomb 53, Andriuolo necropolis.

Fig. 8 Prothesis *with aulos-player. Fresco from the tomb 47, Andriuolo necropolis.*

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Both preserved pipes are almost whole and are made of three cylindrical sections and a mouthpiece in which the reed was inserted. In addition, they differ in length (about 30 and 40 cm) and have five holes in the front and only one in the back. Both these grave goods date to between the end of the 6th and the 5th century BC. Another coeval example comes from tomb 341 in the necropolis of Santa Venera (Cipriani 1989: 79),[3] where a tortoise shell with a metallic element came to light together with two *lekythoi*. The position of the carapace is consistent with that used when playing the instrument. In fact, it is lying near the left hand of the deceased and an iron plectrum was found among the right hand bones. Probably, the presence of these objects is related to Greek culture and the style of life, in which the *symposion* and the *gymnasium* played a central role for the aristocratic elite, a class to which the deceased belonged (Bellia 2012: 60-65).[4]

From the end of the 5th century, when the Lucanians conquered the town, the features of the tombs changed completely. Moreover, the grave goods included now were more numerous, and the custom of painting the inner walls of the tombs became widespread. This transformation, stressing the distinctions of sex, wealth and social hierarchy, reflects cultural and ideological change in society and the passage from the Greek-style to the Italic-style burial. These new paintings became an expression of the values and ideals of the Lucanian aristocracies (Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992; Pontrandolfo *et al.* 1988). Two specific themes, both related to the funerary sphere, are of musical interest, funeral games (especially boxing) and burial rituals. Even if the organization of iconographical themes and figures follows a recurring and fixed pattern, these scenes still enable modern scholars to understand at least some of the fundamental values of a community that projected their own ideals through mortuary imagery.

One of the most widespread themes concerns funerary games, such as chariot racing, boxing matches and duels. This idea of *agones* as part of funerary rites originated with the Greeks, as attested by the description of Patroclus' funeral games in Homer's *Iliad* (Hom. *Il.* XXIII 257). These *agones* included boxing, wrestling, armed combat, foot and chariot races, discus and javelin throwing and archery. Greek authors give us some pieces of information on the presence of music at the *gymnikoi agones:* Pindar (*Nem.* V 38), for example, writes

3 Futher examples from Taranto (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 66158; cfr. Bernabo Brea 1940: 483; Vendries 1999: 44; D'Amicis 1999: 21, Fig. 1); Locri (Lepore 2010: 440, 442, 456, Figs. 30.17-18, 30.38-39) and Metaponto (tombs 336 e 415, cfr. Bellia 2012: 60-65, with further bibliography).

4 See for example, tombs 336 and 415 found at Metaponto.

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about aulos music at the Isthmian games; and Plutarch (*De Mus.* 26) writes about wrestlers who were accompanied by the aulos during the games in honor of Zeus Stheneios, at Argos. According to Pausanias (V 7, 10; VI 14, 10), at the Olympic festivals the Pythian aulos-song was played while the competitors in the pentathlon are jumping.

The boxing scenes are among the most numerous in the Paestum frescoes, and they can be compared to more ancient Etruscan examples, where representations of sport competitions also refer to the games organized as a part of funeral rituals (Sassatelli 1993; Maggiani 1997; Torelli 1999; Castaldo 2007).[5] According to some scholars, the presence of boxing scenes in the decoration of the tombs can be explained by the apotropaic meaning given to this sport in Etruria (Sannibale 2004: 92). We can find several boxing scenes taking place in the presence of an aulos-player in Etruscan funerary art. For example, in some frescoes from the tombs of Tarquinia,[6] in reliefs on the grave stones from Felsina ("stele Felsinee") and on the urns from Chiusi and Volterra. The Etruscan custom of rhythmically playing the aulos in imitation of the boxers' movements is also documented by Athenaeus (*Deipn.* IV 154 a; XII 518 b), who cites some Greek authors for this practice.

In contradiction, Attic pottery coeval to these Etruscan representations, depicts boxing as if it is only one of many sports, and does not seem to have any funerary significance. We can see this, for example, in a black-figure hydria from the Vatican city (Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 416; Beazley database 302060).

Returning to Paestum, the theme of funeral games probably alludes to, or reproduces, the funeral rituals of the Lucanian aristocracy, as its presence both in the male and in female tombs perhaps attests. Moreover, it is possible that the painting of these frescos, which took place during the burial, was an integral part of the funeral rite itself. The frescoes of tomb 90 at the Andriuolo necropolis are a significant example (Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992: 109-112, 319-320; middle of the 4th century). Here, a chariot race, a duel and a boxing match with an aulos-player are depicted. Specifically, two men, who are naked and bleeding, and wearing a sort of ancient boxing glove called a *caestus* by the ancient authors, are boxing in the presence of an aulos-player who rhythmically mimics their movement. The musician is wearing a *phorbeia,* a leather band tied across the mouth and on the head, used by professional musicians probably to

5 In Etruria, funeral games were held beginning by circa 535 (cfr. Herodotus I 167).

6 For example, the "Warrior tomb" (Tarquinia, Monterozzi necropolis; cfr. Staingräber 1985: 318-319) and the "Inscriptions tomb" (Tarquinia, Monterozzi necropolis; cfr. Staingräber 1985: 319-320).

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check the pressure of the air blown into the reeds (Bélis 1986: 205-218). In the female tomb 24/1971 (about 370-360 BC), at the same necropolis, there is a similar scene, but one of the boxers is black (Fig. 3) (Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992: 188-189, 348-349). However, since he does not seem to have African features, it has been hypothesized that he was painted a darker color in order to distinguish him from the other boxer (Corrigan 1979: 170). The aulos-player wears clothing similar to the previous one described, with a sort of short-sleeved waistcoat, and a yellow *phorbeia*.

In some cases the aulos-player is naked, fatter and smaller as compared to the respective boxers, as, for example, in the tombs 32 from Andriuolo (Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992: 106-107, 317-331)[7] and 1 from the Gaudo necropolis. Here, the musician has a big stomach and large buttocks, and is holding the *auloi* with both hands (Fig. 4). Hanging from his arm is an animal skin used as a *sybene,* the case for the instrument. The exaggerated rotundity of this character reminds us of the silens *auloi* players in Dionysiac scenes, where it probably refers to a link between the funeral games and burial rituals in the Dionysiac sphere. In fact, in the Paestan world Dionysos, mostly as the god of the theater, seems to have acquired funerary connotations by becoming the god of afterlife salvation. This aspect is also accentuated by the representation of Dionysiac themes on the pottery that is included among the grave goods. We can thus find a relationship between the scenes on these vases and the frescoes painted in the tombs, somehow reflecting a sort of theatrical performance given on the occasion of funerary ceremonies.

The scene represented in tomb 53 at the Andriuolo necropolis, where an *auletes* plays while facing an actor wearing a mask and cloak, may refer to this sort of popular theatrical performances of a burlesque and licentious character (Fig. 5) (Pontrandolfo 2000: 118-119). According to some scholars (see below), these theatrical forms were similar to the *fabula Atellana,* a type of farce which was largely improvised, named after the Campanian town Atella and performed by masked actors. The forms were mentioned by Livy (VII 2) and Valerius Maximus (II 4) as forerunners of the Latin drama. Moreover, such theatrical performances have been linked to the clay masks found in several places in southern Italy and also at Paestum (Pontrandolfo 1992: 263-270).

The vases found in Paestum tombs were mostly made in native workshops and many of them portray Dionysiac themes. The god himself is often depicted, in scenes including theatrical masks and musical

7 There is a similar scene in the tomb 84 at the Andriuolo necropolis, about 350-340 BC (cfr. Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992: 147, 334).

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instruments, which are almost always the double aulos. In Paestan pottery Dionysos is frequently shown in association with wind instruments. For example, there exists a calyx-crater where, below a mask hanging in the background, a satyr is shown offering a double aulos to Dionysus (Pontrandolfo 2000: 128, Fig. 22; Cipriani/Longo 1996: 255, n. 190; Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992: 309-311).[8] The scene on the *oinochoe* from the Gaudo necropolis is quite exceptional, because the god himself is depicted holding the two pipes of an aulos in his right hand, and in his left a mask (Fig. 6).[9] Sometimes, instead of the latter we can find an actor dressed as Papposilenos, for example, in a *lekane* from the Gaudo necropolis, where, while wearing a fawn skin, he sits on a rock and plays the aulos.[10] Completing the scene, two women and an Eros are shown holding objects somehow linked to mysteries and the funerary world, such as a mirror, a crown, a tray with cakes and eggs.[11] Paestan iconography, when conforming to the Attic tradition in a particular fashion, associates wind instruments with the Dionysiac and theatrical world, while almost completely overlooking the tympanon, which was very often represented in coeval Apulian pottery. These differences may probably refer to the characteristics of the Dionysiac rituals in the Paestum region.

From the middle of the 4th century a new iconographical theme became present in the Paestan necropolises: the *prothesis* of the deceased portrayed exclusively in female tombs. This subject demonstrates that women had a central place in society, protecting the family and its properties, and maintaining the progeny. The scene shows characters around a deathbed, which is placed at the centre of the painting. In addition to the deceased, other characters are also depicted around the main nucleus, generally some of these are crying women and children, which alludes to the new generations, and an aulos-player. Women with short hair and uncovered heads are portrayed near the top and the foot of the deathbed where they appear to move their hands to their breast as if to hit them, or to their heads in order to pull their hair or to scratch their face. Such an example can be seen in tomb 53 at Andriuolo (Fig. 7) (Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992: 137-141, 331-333). These self-aggressive gestures in the presence of an aulos-player suggest that their

8 Paestan calyx-crater, Paestum, 21306 (from tomb 20, Andriuolo, about 380 BC).

9 Paestum, inv. 104378 (from tomb 197, Gaudo 1990), workshop of Asteas (about 380-370 BC) (Pontrandolfo 2000: 132, Fig. 29; Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992: 321, 4; Cipriani/Longo 1996: 247, n. 179).

10 Paestum, inv. 26633 (from tomb 2, Gaudo 1972), The Black and Red Group (about 340-330 BC).

11 We can probably interpret the shells of eggs and the drinking vessels found in the tombs as evidence of funerary rituals (Cipriani/Longo 1996: 245-246).

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movements are synchronised rhythmically to the music. In tomb 47 at Andriuolo (about 350 BC), for example, the *prothesis* is completed with an illustration of the *gynaeceum* and the funeral procession to the Underworld (Fig. 8) (Pontrandolfo/Rouveret 1992: 122-126, 326-328).[12]

This iconographical theme first appeared in Greece during the Geometric ages, and persisted until the 5th century BC. Authors at the time concur that the aulos was the instrument of funeral rituals, and that the aulos-players,[13] the *keraules* or, in latin, *ceraulae,* occupied the lowest level in the hierarchic scale of the musicians (Bélis 1999: 84-86). Even if this use is widely attested to in texts, there are, on the contrary, very few scenes from Greece representing an aulos-player accompanying the funeral lamentations. More proof comes from Etruria, where for example, a grave stone from Chiusi portrays an aulos-player standing on a podium and wearing *phorbeia* while accompanying the funeral lamentations of the women.[14]

According to the texts, the presence of music at the funeral must have had a complex function: the aulos' or, in latin, *tibiae*' sounds, accompanying the funeral songs *(neniae),* would have had an important role in the mourning elaboration. According to Plutarch, "dirge *(threnodia)* and funeral aulos *(epikedeios aulos)* at first rouse grief and cause tears to flow, and thus by leading the soul to pity, little by little remove and consume distress" (*Quaest. conv.* III 8, 657A, transl. by Clement and Hoffleit).[15] In addition, music and songs isolated the place where the burial took place, signaling that that it had been corrupted by death (Scheid 1984: 119).

The grave goods placed in the female tombs usually include feminine vases, such as the *hydria* and the *lebes gamikos,* the typical vessel used during nuptial rites, and which portrayed scenes with Erotes, male and feminine characters. Sometimes we can also find mythical themes, such as those of the Sirens[16] or the birth of Aphrodite, as in a neck amphora from the Licinello necropolis.[17] Here the goddess is holding a "xylophone", a musical instrument[18] shaped in the form of a little

12 The grave goods also included two feminine vases, a *lebes gamikos* and a *lekane.*

13 For example: Soph. fr. 849 Radt; Aesch. *Ag.* 990; Eu. *Alc.* 447; Plut., *De E ap. Delph.* 394b. Further references in Palmisciano (2003: 105-109).

14 Bas relief from Chiusi, Roma, Museo Barracco, inv. 201 (about 480 BC) (cfr. Jannot 1988: 323, Fig. 5).

15 According to Cicero (*De leg.* II 24) *cantos lugubres,* also called *neniae* by Greeks, were executed to the accompaniment of the *tibiae* (the Roman version of the *auloi*) (cfr. also De Martino 2008 [1958]: 166-175).

16 *Lebes gamikos,* Paestum, inv. 26256, 24658a, 24658b (from tomb 2 Andriuolo, end of the 4th century) (cfr. Cipriani/Longo 1996: 261-262, n. 208).

17 Tomb 69 (1969), Aphrodite Painter (340-330 BC).

18 This object is not interpreted as a musical instrument by all scholars (cfr. Salapata 2002).

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ladder. It can be found exclusively in the pottery from Magna Graecia and clearly belongs to the feminine sphere, especially the nuptial one.

In conclusion, general observations on the iconographical themes portrayed in the Paestum tombs, possibly affirm that the scenes painted on the pottery are completely different from those on frescoes. The latter and the vases follow two visual traditions that are completely autonomous and independent. This is probably due to the fact that the paintings in the Paestan tombs are an expression of the indigenous culture, while the iconography of the vases found inside them refers to features of Greek culture and religiosity (Iozzo/Denoyelle 2010: 190) And similarly, in these scenes musical elements, even if coming from Greece, take now new meanings which reflect religious beliefs and cultural traditions of the Lucanian aristocracy.

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The Archaeoacoustics of a Sixth-Century Christian Structure

San Vitale, Ravenna

By David J. Knight

The archaeoacoustics of ceremonial structures has been of interest to a variety of heritage specialists, including archaeologists, architectural historians and acousticians. The study of the late antique Basilica of San Vitale at Ravenna is discussed here in relation to how its acoustic characteristics may have facilitated and enhanced the liturgical function of the building as a congregational church. The experimental results of measuring sound propagation, reverberation and clarity of the interior octagonal space of San Vitale, are set with contemporary 6th century descriptions of vocal musical play with reverberation and echo. A quotation by Cassiodorus of Ravenna is identified as relating to architectural acoustics and musical performance in a ritual setting. An exploration of observations made while performing the late antique Ravennate chant Lux de luce Deus tenebris illuxit averni *inside San Vitale is offered in order to understand how this site affords reciprocity between the enclosed sacred space and a ritual sonic performance, specifically musical and oratorical vocalisations. The immersive quality of San Vitale's long reverberation times and clarity favouring musical rather than spoken vocalisations, are interpreted here as influencing and helping shape the style of musical performance at the 6th century capital of the Western Empire.*

One way in which material and living cultures can be bridged is to consider the material evidence of the non-material sensorial past, in particular the archaeoacoustics of ancient enclosed spaces (Scarre/Lawson 2006). The project from which this present article is drawn aimed to study a historic space where sound sources and ritual praxis are confidently identifiable. The 6th century church of San Vitale at Ravenna was chosen as a study case as its original liturgical function as a congregational basilica for the Eucharistic celebration has not altered through the ages. This chapter will discuss the late antique Basilica of San Vitale at Ravenna, in relation to how its acoustic characteristics may have facilitated and enhanced the liturgical function of the building as a congregational church (Figs. 1-3).

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The Acoustics of San Vitale

The construction of San Vitale was initiated by Bishop Ecclesius of Ravenna in AD 526 as part of an ambitious building programme that also included San Michele *ad Frigiselo* (now "in Africisco") and Santa Maria Maggiore immediately to the east of San Vitale. While San Michele was designed as a traditional longitudinal basilica, Santa Maria Maggiore may have originally been a freestanding dodecagon (Deliyannis 2010: 222). San Vitale is centrally planned as a complex two-storeyed octagon with a drum supporting a dome. This extraordinary UNESCO World Heritage Site is popularly understood as an example of Byzantine architecture in Italy. This interpretation has recently been re-evaluated (Knight 2010), as Ecclesius may have been equally influenced by a developing ecclesiastical Ravennate architectural style seen in the older octagonal baptisteries of the city. Restorations carried out in San Vitale during the 20th century have reinstated the original floor-level and removed much of the Baroque furnishings, making the experience of the internal space closer to that of the 6th century. As a result of its unusual shape, the space has very particular acoustical properties.

Its acoustics are well suited to vocal music, and indeed its enclosed space in particular affords the production of vocalisations of the type that are documented in surviving Ravennate music, and can be seen in the continuous and consistent liturgical use of San Vitale. Acoustical and visibility analysis is possible in this church, as the internal space remains largely intact, and has been carried out in order to illustrate how rituals and music making interacted with the acoustical properties present. Alterations, especially during the Baroque period, can be identified and accounted for, and a full restoration of the 6th century interior has been possible by using virtual modelling (Durvilli 2009; Giannakopoulou 2007) in order to accurately assess what the venue sounded like in the past.

A campaign of measuring and analysing the archaeoacoustics of San Vitale was initiated in 2006. The church was modelled based on Deichmann's survey (1969; 1976; 1989) and a series of virtual acoustic experiments were conducted. The results of this campaign are published elsewhere (Paliou/Knight 2013; Knight 2010; Tronchin/Knight 2008; Tronchin *et al.* 2007). A few important acoustic characteristics of San Vitae are worth briefly mentioning here. From the Impulse Responses (IRs) recorded in San Vitale, the reverberation time (T30; calculated from the decay

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range between -5 and -35dB) proved to be long and interesting (Knight 2010: 196) as shown in Chart 1.

When the sound source is located at the altar in the chancel, the centre of the church has a reverberation time of around 4.64 seconds. When the sound source was placed in the *matroneum* second storey balcony, at the north exedra elevated level, the main north entrance and at the walls of the northeast and southwest circulating ambulatories, the reverberation was approximately the same. It is notable because reverberation time is quite long across the range of the singing voice, approximately 5.5 seconds in this lower range from 60-1500Hz (Chart 1). This measurement of reverberation, T30, also slightly underestimates complete reverberation, as it will take slightly longer than the stated T30 time for reverberation to die away to nothing. It is the encircling interior space that creates this particular reverberant field. Such reverberation supports singing; as each note is sustained a singer is able to hear the previous note sung, and thus sing in tune without drifting in pitch. This also helps groups of singers vocalise together. A long reverberation of this kind affords particular ways of making sound, faster complex music being blurred, slower music by individuals or small groups being clearer. It also creates an audible impression of the space, and a soundscape that is obviously different from that of everyday life, as it helps to separate this ritual space from the mundane, and create a sense of what I will later describe as suspension of disbelief.

Clarity of musical perception (C80) ranges is shown in Chart 2 (Knight 2010: 197). A preliminary analysis with a dispersed audience of twelve people indicates the central space would have increased clarity of musical perception (C80). In particular one can see that the frequency range of human singing is where clarity is maximised. Although this is not highly unusual from a technical perspective, it assists liturgical comprehension, and such clarity combined with a long reverberation combines to afford appreciation of and performance of vocal music particularly well. Sound dampening strategies originally used in San Vitale, such as hanging tapestries between the *exedra* and chancel columns, would have augmented how sound events were perceived inside this church, and awaits future study. The presence of a large congregation would also additively dampen mid and high frequencies, where each person has an absorption coefficient of between 0.15dB at 125Hz and 0.45dB at 4000Hz. This would further improve clarity and intelligibility (Fig. 4).

These acoustical results demonstrate the long reverberation times throughout

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the church that are part of the original 6th century acoustics of the site. It is worth exploring further how such acoustical characteristics interact with the performance of musical vocalisation.

Vocal Music in San Vitale

In order to further explore the archaeoacoustics of San Vitale, a piece of vocal music representative of this period was performed inside the church, a Ravennate *versus* chant, *Lux de luce Deus tenebris illuxit averni* (Padova A.47, folio 129; Modena O.I.7, folio 102), identified by Levy (1971; 1980: 879) as performed during the *lucernarium* Cathedral Vespers (Sadie 2001, Vol. 15: 271; ibid., Vol. 26: 508), probably dating to before AD 601 (Levy 1971: 52) and therefore within the first years of San Vitale's usage.

The author and Dr Maddalena Roversi sang *Lux de luce* in unison and explored how changes in performance characteristics, such as tempo, interacted with the acoustics of the space. We found that a fairly slow time signature afforded word articulation to be best understood by the small assembled audience. The male vocalist was situated on the ground floor at the semi-circular exedra immediately south of the chancel, visually connected to the inner octagonal open space beneath the central dome. The female vocalist was situated in the second storey *matroneum,* documented in the 6th century as a level allocated for female members of the congregation (Mainstone 1988: 230-231). The two vocalists were within easy view of each other, but it was found each could not clearly hear the other and the performance became dependent upon visual cues such as arm movements. The experiment revealed that a greater number of both male and female vocalists would improve audibility between the performers. Nevertheless, those listening to the performance from the central space of San Vitale clearly heard both vocalists.

Comments from the assembled audience the acoustics of San Vitale enhanced the vocal performance, creating complex resonances that surrounded and immersed the listeners. The lower male voice emanated throughout the space while the higher female voice was clearly heard as placed above both through direct sound and by the echo that seemed to rain down from the central dome. The 6th century allocation of placement of male and female congregants facilitated this tonal hierarchy. The verticality of the complex architecture, which literally surrounds and envelops

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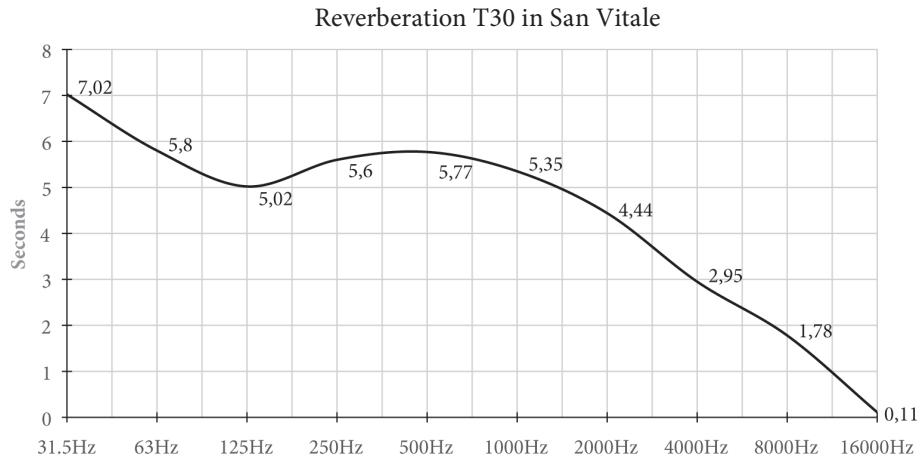

Chart 1 Reverberation (T30) in San Vitale.

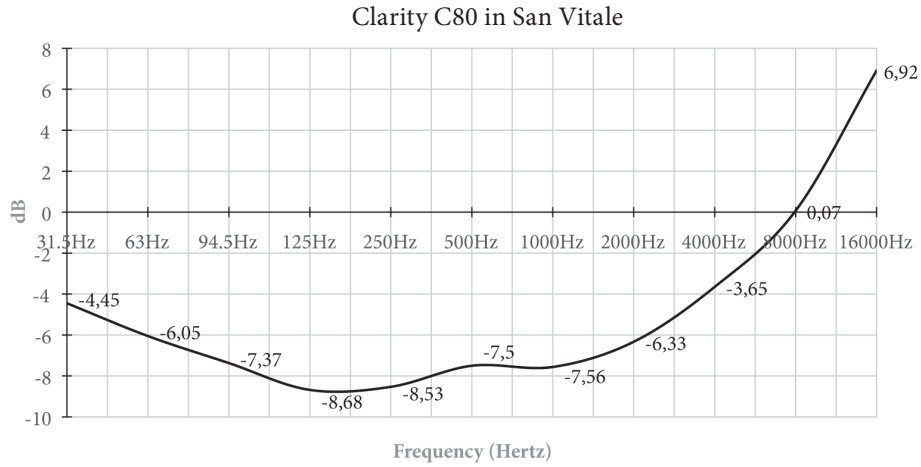

Chart 2 Clarity of musical perception (C80) in San Vitale.

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Fig. 1 San Vitale, exterior looking southwest (Knight 2010).

Fig. 2 San Vitale, interior with dodecahedron omni-directional loudspeaker at main altar (Knight 2010).

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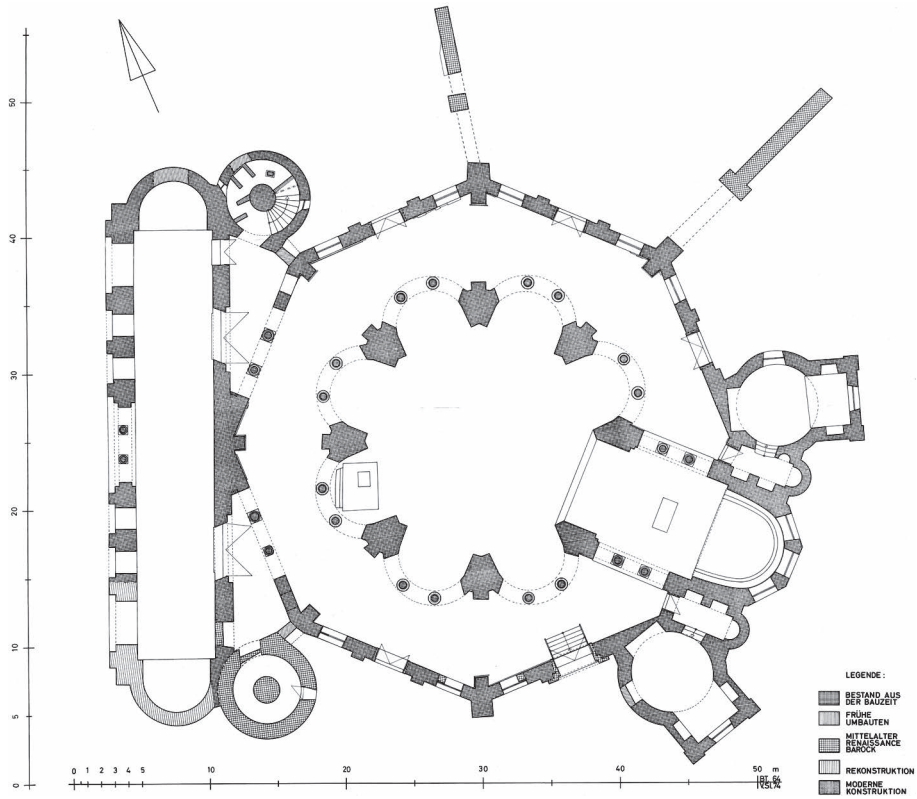

Fig. 3 San Vitale ground floor plan (Deichmann 1989: Plan 27).

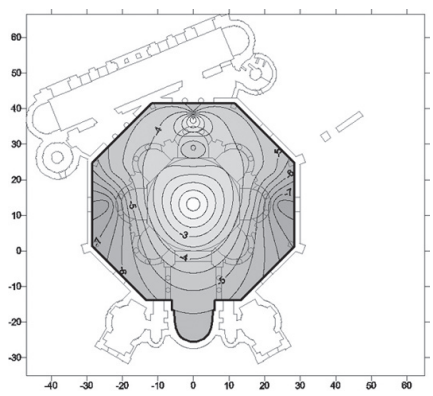

Fig. 4 Clarity of musical perception (C80) in San Vitale when the sound source is at the main altar (Tronchin et al. *2007).*

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the congregation affords complex sonic play. The elaborate enclosed space of San Vitale has a diverse range of sight lines and vistas that belie simple comprehension of the underlying geometric logic of its design. Similarly, it is difficult to identify and separate the subjective experience of lateral fraction and envelopment from what is sound source and what is acoustic reflection, reverberation and echo. The resulting complexity of the vocal music becomes an immersive experience that can have a powerful affective influence upon ritual participants.

The words of *Lux de luce* are about divine light conquering darkness, and it is interesting to note that this music has visual elements of ritual associated with it, focused around flames, light and darkness. Three distinct types of Hell are named in the chant. *Averni* (verse 1) is a group of noted lakes and grottos with noxious vapours, from the example of Avernus, near Cumae, Campania, which is a crater exuding foul air that was believed to be one of the entrances to the underworld and home to Mephitis, a pagan Roman plague goddess (Adkins/Adkins 1995: 5, 150). *Tartarus* and *Chaos* (verse 5) refer to Greek mythology, the former is a dark place below *Hades* and the latter, the antithesis of *Cosmos,* is an expansive primal empty space. It is intriguing how this Ravennate chant resets Roman and Greek pre-Christian mythology as the hellish places from which Christ redeems humankind, that is those that torment by noxious fumes (carrying disease), darkness (physical and spiritual blindness) and emptiness (aloneness and separation from community).

The first note of *Lux de luce* is also the lowest, D3 = 146.83Hz, and the highest note through the majority of the piece is Middle C (C4 = 261.63Hz). Only one note exceeds this, D4 (293.66Hz), in the *melisma* on the word *reseravit* (specifically on the "*ra*") in verse 7: *Regna benigne piis reseravit claustra polorum* ("And has benignly opened the kingdom for the pious") (Levy 1971: 43).

It is interesting to note that this word *reseravit,* meaning to uncover, is on the highest note of the piece. The *melisma* swiftly climbing to this brief note (D4) musically may be seen as representing Christ's Ascension to open the doors of Heaven, of light conquering the darkness of death. Furthermore, the clarity (C80) of the music (see Chart 2) would increase as the music rises in pitch, the singer's voice seeming to rise up out of the reverberation of the lower frequencies. Further, the liturgical context and position of this versus is relevant, Levy (1971: 52) suggesting that as part of the Easter Vigil it is placed,

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"[…] Among the opening ceremonies of the Vigil, where the new fire is brought forth and the paschal candle is lighted and blessed. In broad terms this is a lucernarium, *the solemn lighting of candles at Vespers, widely cultivated in early Christian traditions. Specifically, it is a* lucernarium *for the primal Vespers of the liturgical year on Holy Saturday, when the new fire presages the imminent victory over death."*

The *versus* in this context as the musical setting for the *lucernarium,* exemplifies how light and sound were used in combination to transmit theological meaning to the congregation, and we can see how the acoustics of the space afford such transmission. Further evidence of relationships between musical sound, acoustics and liturgical ritual can be found in another Ravennate source, the writings of Cassiodorus.

The Expositio Psalmorum of Cassiodorus

Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator (circa 485-585) was *magister officiorum* to King Theoderic at Ravenna until 526, where he is known to have remained until shortly after 540, as of the capitulation to Constantinople. Cassiodorus' writings on music can be securely dated to between 548 and 562. He is believed to have worked on the *Expositio Psalmorum* in 548 (Halporn 1981: 388), at the time when San Vitale was being completed (the dedication of the church was on Quasimodo Sunday, April 19, 548), and although he departed Ravenna before the space was constructed and used, he was certainly writing within the same cultural setting.

In his Expositio *Psalmorum,* Cassiodorus describes the vocal performance of the Mass Alleluia:

Hinc ornatur lingua	Hence, by the tongue of the
Cantorum: istud aula	Singer, [the alleluia] is
Domini laeta respondet,	Embellished: this the glad
Et tanquam insatiabile	House of the Lord echoes, and
Bonum tropis semper	Then like an un-wearying
Variantibus innovatur.	Delicacy, with ever changing
(Migne 1865: 742; Bailey 1983: 14).	Turns, it is renewed.

A little further on, he says:

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In melodia hoc compositum	In singing, this compound
Nomen diversos tonos	Noun [alleluia] receives
Recipit, ita ut	Varied [winding] tunes,
Multiplices causas ad	Multiplicity of means the
Vim suae praedicationis	Force of its message.
Assumit.	
(Migne 1865: 811)	

In these passages Cassiodorus describes an Alleluia that is ornate *(ornatur lingua cantorum, diversos tonos recipit),* long *(tanquam insatiabile bonum, multiplices causas)* and, in all probability, improvised *(tropis semper variantibus innovator).* The Mass Alleluia that Cassiodorus refers to is a responsorial chant ending with a melismatic vocalisation on the final syllable, a contraction of *Yahweh,* the name of God.

Prior to the liturgical reforms of Pope Gregory I in the late 6th century, the Mass Alleluia may have been sung as an exclusively Paschal chant, only extended beyond Eastertide sometime between 590 and 598 (Bailey 1983: 15). Of all the liturgical chants, the Mass Alleluia provides an occasion *par excellence* for vocal display, this ornate, long, improvised music affording the opportunity for the singer to respond to the specific acoustics of an individual venue. The significance of this for San Vitale is that, since its dedication can be dated accurately to the first Sunday after Easter (the Octave of Easter known as Quasimodo Sunday), this Mass Alleluia is likely to have been sung on or near that day, presenting the full range of the acoustic characteristics of the new church, possibly even on its first day of service.

We do also know from the 9th century primary source *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* (Deliyannis 2004) by Andreas Agnellus of Ravenna, that two other Ravenna churches were dedicated on the Sundays following Easter within Eastertide; San Michele in Africisco, dedicated by Bishop Maximian on May 7 of 545, the third Sunday following Easter (Agnellus 77, see Deliyannis 2004: 191), and Sant' Apollinare in Classe, dedicated on May 9 of 549, the fifth Sunday following Easter (Agnellus 77, see Deliyannis 2004: 192). On these dedicatory Sundays the Mass Alleluia is also likely to have been sung.

It is possible to go a little further with this discovery by considering the two passages by Cassiodorus in their proper order, *Patrologia Latina (PL)* 70, 742 preceding *PL* 70, 811 (*contra* Bailey 1983). It seems probable that *PL* 70, 742 describes

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the reverberation *(respondet)* within a church *(istud aula Domini laeta)* and the performed vocalisation dependent on the complexity of the resultant echoes *(et tanquam insatiabile bonum tropis semper variantibus innovator).* Vocalisation is presented in direct relation to the reverberation time of the interior acoustic space of a ritual structure. While there is musical evidence that the Mass Alleluia of Rome, Milan and the Gregorian regions was improvised (Bailey 1983: 15), translating *lingua cantorum,* which may indicate either the singular or the plural, as 'by the voice of the singers' (*contra* Bailey 1983: 14), indicates Cassiodorus could have been describing more than one singer chanting in unison rather than just one improvising soloist.

We are fortunate to have mention of cantors within the Ravennate Nicene clergy during the episcopacy of Bishop Ecclesius, the builder of San Vitale. Agnellus provides us with the names and positions of the clergy attending Ecclesius from Ravenna to Rome on a meeting with Pope Felix IV (526-530). The cantors are Honorius, Tranquillus, Antonius and Melitus. Further, those with the position of reader *(lector)* are likewise listed: Petrus, Marcus, Asterius, Andreas and two by the name of Petrus (Agnellus 60, see Deliyannis 2004: 176–177). It is even possible that the four named cantors were formally organised into a Ravennate school of chant, or *schola cantorum.* If this were the case it would predate the *schola cantorum* traditionally ascribed to the liturgical reforms of Gregory I (590-604) or the mid-8th century (Apel 1990).

The 6th century developments of elongated melismatic Alleluia chants and associated styles of vocal performance could in part be a result of developments in ecclesiastical architecture, namely the acoustics afforded by particular enclosed ritual spaces. In other words, vocal performance style responded to the long, echoing reverberation times indicated by Cassiodorus, suggesting that musical developments occurred in direct relation to the architectural acoustics of contemporary 6th century Christian ritual performance spaces.

Although Cassiodorus was apparently absent from Ravenna at the time of writing, his comments are within the very first few years following the completion and dedications of San Michele in Africisco, San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare at Classe. There is no evidence he attended San Vitale's dedication day of Quasimodo Sunday (although it is possible), but the Mass Alleluia that Cassiodorus is describing in his writing was most likely performed in the new church. He was thus referring to the reverberation and musical performances inside churches that were physically

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and culturally very like San Vitale, making observations and comments based on his thirty-year experience as minister within the court of Theoderic at Ravenna.

Conclusions

The experimental results discussed above of singing a Ravennate *versus* chant inside San Vitale indicates how the modulation of timing (open time) and vocal dynamics may have been important strategies in best engaging the acoustic characteristics of this church. This direct relationship between ritual vocal sound making and the response of the acoustic characteristics of the space is illustrated well by Cassiodorus in the passages cited above. The play between vocalisation and architectural ritual structure, making the most of long reverberation times, is also pan-sensory. Lighting, shadows, and other sensual qualities such as colour and the scent of incense, are integrated and activated during ritual performance in combination with sound, and the archaeoacoustic sonic developments (musical and oratorical) of a space need to be understood in context with other accompanying sensory expressions in order to more fully appreciate the "archaeosensorial" past of ritual structures. The emotive impact of archaeosensorial sites such as San Vitale is extremely difficult to appreciate from the vantage of the present. That feelings of devotion, contestation and competition were invited by the design and usage of the interior space, indicates that this ritual structure was intended to assist the 6th century congregation in collectively engaging suspension of disbelief, achieving a sense of the divine, and underlining the authority and power of associated religious traditions. We have seen evidence of how the acoustics of this space strongly contribute to its power and status as a special site of ritual significance, with an ability to interact with and compliment the music performed within its internal space. We have also seen evidence that the acoustics of the site, and its ritual affordances and potential, were utilised, understood and appreciated from the time it was built. Through the senses, cognition and belief, San Vitale describes a world of "otherness" where sound resonates on both physical and ideological levels.

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Acoustics, Architecture, and Instruments in Ancient Chavín de Huántar, Perú

An Integrative, Anthropological Approach to Archaeoacoustics and Music Archaeology

By Miriam A. Kolar

Integrative archaeoacoustics advances a methodology in which the physical dynamics of anthropogenic spaces and musical/sound-producing instruments are comparatively studied and anthropologically considered with respect to an archaeological context. Applied in ongoing research about the Andean Formative ceremonial center at Chavín de Huántar, Perú, this case study examines relationships among diverse forms of evidence from an ancient ritual setting while seeking relevant ethnographic data from present-day sources. Chavín's well-preserved architecture and site-excavated instruments (Strombus galeatus conch shell horns) allow direct acoustic testing and measurement, and provide material bases for perceptual evaluation by human participants in systematic studies. Site-contextualized psychoacoustic research, implemented via on-site auditory localization experiments and in progress for testing of virtual reconstructions, constitutes a methodical approach to the study of human experiential dynamics, a problematic and frequently neglected area in archaeological inquiry. Using this approach, we pose a framework for probing the interconnections among material culture, physical dynamic processes, sensory phenomena, and human experience, here applied in the investigation of sonified ritual in ancient Chavín.

Research Premise and Archaeological Context

The Andean Formative ceremonial center at Chavín de Huántar is renowned as an enigmatic religious site, centuries past its era of monumental construction that was recently dated from 1200 to 500 BC (Kembel/Haas 2013). Imposed upon the unstable landscape of a narrow river valley in the north-central sierra of present-day Ancash, Perú, the site complex constitutes an anthropogenically structured environment (Contreras 2007; 2008) modified from its lowest bedrock substrate, up

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through kilometers of subterranean canals that underlie sunken plazas and multi-level terraces, to the highest levels of the massive stone-and-earthen-mortar buildings that once dominated the visual fields of its human beholders (as suggested for other Andean sites by Moore 1996). A view of extant site architecture is shown in Fig. 1.

Characterization of Chavín ritual is based on fragmented and diverse evidence. Recent excavations in ceremonial sectors are providing new indications of water-ritual design (Rick 2013), building from previous interpretations by Luis Lumbreras and colleagues that posited a hydraulic sonification purpose (Lumbreras 1974; Lumberas *et al.* 1976), among other plausible functions for the extensive system of drains and stone passages that interlace the complex. Ceremonial practice at Chavín has been identified with psychotropic plant consumption (e.g., Cordy-Collins 1977; 1982; Torres 2008; Rosenfeld 2013), suggested by plentiful associated materials, objects, and depictions, such as the upturned eyes, grimaces, and nasal mucus trails that characterize the larger-than-life, carved stone human and animal tenon heads that once adorned exterior walls. Rick's team's 2001 discovery of a cache of intact musical/sound-producing instruments, the *Strombus galeatus* conch shell horns known in present-day parlance as the Chavín *pututus,* revealed site-excavated tools for sound manipulation that were previously only assumed from lithic depictions and shell fragments. Converging factors evince an experientially transformative ancient site environment that would have required differentiation and specialization in social and ritual roles for its creators, facilitators, practitioners, and visitors (Rick 2004; 2006a; 2006b; 2008; Kembel/Rick 2004; Kolar *et al.* 2012). Taking an integrative approach to archaeoacoustic and music-archaeological investigation, we seek and examine the interrelationships among diverse forms of evidence about Chavín's ancient sound environment, to understand its human experiential implications and social significance.

Comparative Acoustics of Chavín's Ancient Ceremonial Spaces and Instruments

To illuminate characteristics of Chavín's multi-sensory archaeological context, our team's on-site archaeoacoustic investigations began in 2008 with acoustic field work and measurements of the site-excavated *Strombus* shell horns, and continues with research on and off site. The empirical characterization of acoustic interaction

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dynamics between site-excavated instruments and the spatial environment provides information about the possible sonic features and components of an ancient ritual setting. Methodology and specific case-study examples are discussed below.

Well-preserved enclosed site architecture such as Chavín's interior "galleries" and "canals" can be measured using established and customized acoustic techniques to document and archive the physical dynamics embodied by these structures. Acoustic impulse responses, generated using mathematically generated audio test signals emitted from full-range loudspeakers and recorded using low-distortion microphones, comprehensively describe gallery acoustics for a specified range of frequencies, those relevant to human hearing and sensation (discussed in Kolar *et al.* 2012 and Kolar 2013). Digitally recorded and stored acoustic data serves to archive the site's extant acoustic characteristics, and can be used to create and evaluate the accuracy of virtual reconstructions, such as our in-progress computational acoustic models that permit auralization (sonic simulations) of estimated ancient sound environments (Kolar *et al.* 2010a; 2010b; Collecchia *et al.* 2012). Our initial measurements of three galleries (documented in Abel *et al.* 2008a; 2008b), and the author's subsequent measurements of several galleries and part of the Rocas canal have provided repeatable and verifiable characterization of interior acoustics common to site spaces having similar architectural forms, dimensions, and surface materials. A gallery acoustic measurement setup is shown in Fig. 2.

In order to understand the acoustic and performance potential of Chavín's site-excavated *Strombus* horns, we tested, measured, and documented physical/morphological, sounding/acoustic, and handling/performative characteristics of 19 of the 20 intact shell instruments, those on display in the Museo Nacional Chavín in 2008. Led by computer music researcher and shell-horn player Perry Cook, with the collaboration of Peruvian musician and instrument builder Tito La Rosa, we characterized the instruments' physical characteristics, sounding tones, produced harmonics, sound radiation patterns, and plausible performative range as handled by these expert contemporary players (Cook *et al.* 2010a; 2010b). Along with Cook, Stanford consulting professor Jonathan Abel led audio digital signal processing analyses on the shell horn data we gathered using a custom multi-microphone technique. Informal ethnographic studies have further corroborated our observations about instrument handling and the potential for sonic interaction with site spatial acoustics. Subsequent on-site testing via the performance of replica *Strombus pututus* in both interior

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Fig. 1 Ceremonial architecture at Chavín: the 49-meter-wide Plaza Mayor foregrounds surrounding stone-and-earthen-mortar terraces and buildings that have been partially covered by landslides. Photo: Miriam Kolar.

Fig. 2 Acoustic impulse response measurement of Chavín's interior architecture: Miriam Kolar adjusts a Meyer MM-4XP directional loudspeaker and Countryman B6 omnidirectional microphones at the center of the Laberintos Gallery. Photo: José Luis Cruzado Coronel.

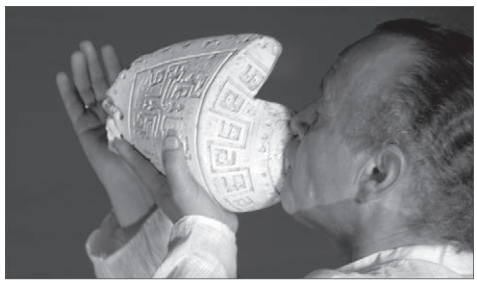

Fig. 3 Chavín pututu characterization testing: Andean musician Tito La Rosa performs one of 20 intact and decorated Strombus galeatus shell horns that were excavated from Chavín's Caracolas Gallery by John Rick and team in 2001. Photo: José Luis Cruzado Coronel, of an instrument from the collection in the Museo Nacional Chavín, 2008.

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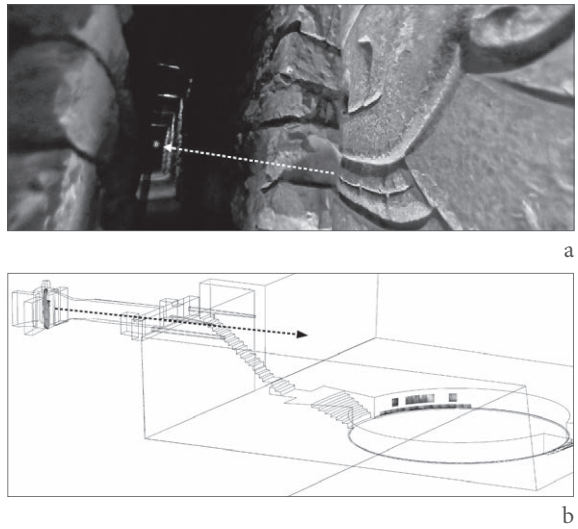

a

b

*Fig. 4 Architectural alignment or "line-of-speech" between the Lanzón monolith and Circular Plaza: a) Graphically simulated light entry marks the interior opening of the central duct aligned with the engraved mouth of the Lanzón, indicated with an arrow; b) extant structures and estimated ancient plaza walls show architectural relationships between the Lanzón Gallery and Circular Plaza; reconstruction by José Cruzado, from data by Silvia Kembel, John Rick, and new on-site measurements. After Kolar (*et al. *2012: 40, Fig. 12).*

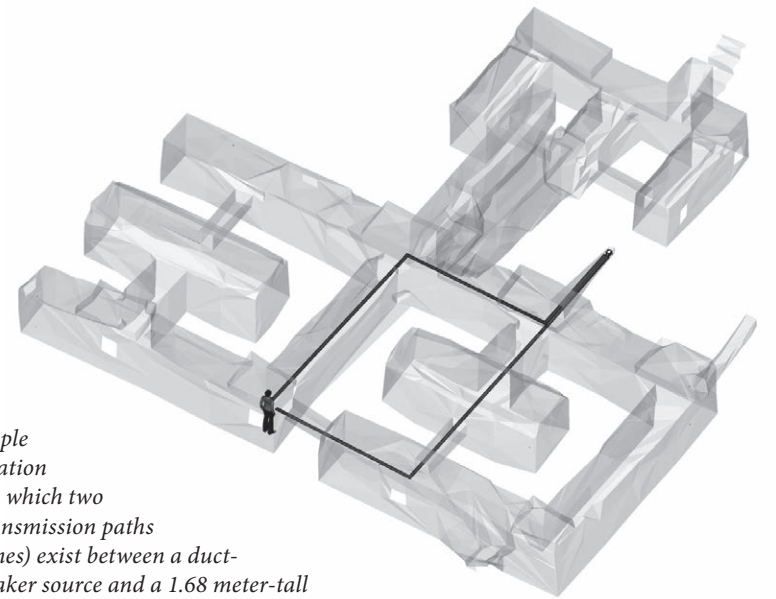

Fig. 5 An example auditory localization test condition in which two initial sound transmission paths (marked with lines) exist between a duct-located loudspeaker source and a 1.68 meter-tall participant. Model and illustration by José Cruzado, from data by Silvia Kembel. After Kolar (2013: 94, Fig. A17a).

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and exterior locations has provided insights and data regarding the interaction effects of such instruments and architecture, as well as their potential for longer-range sound transmission across the Chavín complex and with its landform setting. Details of our Chavín *pututu* characterization research are given in Cook *et al. (ibid.)* and Kolar *et al.* (2012), and summarized below. A performative aspect of the Chavín *pututu* study is depicted in Fig. 3, which features one of the site-excavated shell horns.

From our systematic measurement and analysis work, the Chavín *pututus* are known to have "sounding tones" (our descriptive designation for the basic tones or "pitches" that are most readily played, related to instrument size and shape) ranging in center frequency from about 272 Hz to 340 Hz, a characteristic that can be related for the reader to present-day western common practice musical notes from approximately C#4 to F4, when A4 = 440 Hz.[1] Tonal changes may be created via player technique, with distal end (opposite the shell spire/instrument mouthpiece) hand insertion permitting a downward pitch shift, and player embouchure and air passage modifications enabling both lower and higher tonal production. The use of so-called "extended" performance techniques by experienced players (whether formally trained or self-educated) can elicit varied and complex tones from the instrument, including percussive articulations, vibratory "fluttering" and trills, and even simulated animal roars such as might be produced by a jaguar or other large feline (as frequently depicted in Chavín iconography). The strong directionality of sound energy radiation from the *pututu* bell enables its player to "steer" the sound for effective distribution toward listeners, or to enhance reflection effects with structural surfaces in the acoustic environment where it is played. A *pututu* performer's familiarity with the instrument and setting would therefore enable selectable performative effects based on these interaction dynamics (as discussed in Kolar *et al., ibid.*).

Architectural acoustic features of Chavín's extant interior spaces include quickly dense and diffuse reflection sequences (Abel *et al.* 2008a; 2008b), standing waves at low frequencies, and resonances in the fundamental frequency range shared by human voice and the Chavín *pututus.* Performance tests using replica *Strombus* shell horns[2]

1 Hertz (Hz) is the absolute acoustic measure of vibratory cycles per second, archaeologically appropriate for this context, whereas musical designations such as "notes" are relative metrics expressed in cultural terms that are extrinsic to the Chavín context.

2 As of press, marine shell horns are the only appropriately contextualized Chavín-era musical/sound-producing instruments known to be found and depicted on site. We also tested other Andean instruments plausibly associable with ancient Chavín, including ceramic ocarinas, and flutes of ceramic, bone, and feather shafts; the human voice is an obvious ancient sound source, though vocal phonemic and linguistic content is unknown.

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within exterior areas of the complex produce notable and multiple echoes (sonic repetitions from strong reflections that are substantially similar to the source sound) between building surfaces and extending to landform features in the surrounding hillsides, recorded returning from as far away as 1 km (Kolar *et al.* 2012). Multiple *pututus* played together excite coincident resonances within Chavín's interior architecture and also produce a sonic "beating" effect, a wave-interference amplitude variation that is perceived as a warbling of sound and a typically low-frequency phenomenon. Testing and/or estimation (including computational simulation) of the interaction between instrumental and spatial acoustics can reveal ritually significant elements of a site's ancient environment, as demonstrated in the following discussion of a site-contextualized sound transmission study.

A Sounding Oracle: Converging Instrumental and Architectural Acoustics

Chavín has lengthy historical repute as an "oracle" center, expressly discussed in accounts including that of the 17th century visitor Friar Vásquez de Espinosa (as given in Lumbreras 2007: 19). Numerous ethnographic, historical, and anecdotal linkings of Chavín with topics from Andean history, mythology, religion, and associated ritual practices merit further consideration, not only as an undervalued scholarly research area, but to avoid the application of culturally inappropriate concepts (as cautioned by Burger 1995: 192). This in mind, comparative anthropological study does offer insights; for example, Chavín's contextual characteristics are seen to be consistent with those of "oracular" sites across time and geography (as suggested by Paulsen 1974: 604-605; features of well-known oracular sites are given in Curnow 2004). In related archaeological literature, Thomas Patterson (1971: 46) introduced such comparisons within an Andean framework, Jerry Moore (1996: 126) extended this discourse and related characteristics of Andean oracular shrines to Chavín, and John Rick (2006b, 2008) has further examined ancient Andean religious dynamics with respect to the development of authority at Chavín. From a functional perspective, Chavín's proposed oracle can be materially associated with its in-situ "Lanzón" or "Great Image" (Rowe 1962), the engraved granite monolith considered to be a central manifestation of a singular personage or "deity" apparently depicted in other Chavín lithic works. Monumental architecture encloses and physically restricts human access to the Lanzón monolith; surrounding structures—such as the relief-decorated

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Circular Plaza and the so-called "acoustic canal" (Lumbreras 1974) below the staircase that separates the monolith's gallery and plaza—point to its situation in a ceremonial locus. Beyond the conceptual association between oracular informational function and sound as a communicative medium, the 1970's identification of sonifiable architecture at Chavín points to sonic underpinnings in site design and/or ritual practice:

> *"A thundering, sounding building is a lot more impressive for pilgrims than a silent 'oracle'; additionally, the sound's source, hidden below the building, only known by the priests or the initiates, is part of the 'mystery' necessary for a liturgy with fierce and grumbling gods. The 'talking god' or 'roarer' is an excellent complement for the religious (and economic) success of idols such as the 'Lanzón' of Chavín. The prestige of the site could be tied to the precision of the 'oracles' (for astronomy) and to the liturgical paraphernalia of the temple."* (Lumbreras *et al.* 1976: 9 [transl. Kolar])[3]

With these archaeological interpretations in mind, the author initiated a study of the acoustics of the Lanzón Gallery and Circular Plaza architecture, to measure, document, and digitally preserve extant features. This data could then be applied in computational acoustic reconstructions to capture past architectural acoustic differences, and to create auralizations that permit listening evaluations and perceptual testing of these acoustics that are unavailable to present-day visitors. Variation in observed acoustics of the site's ubiquitous horizontal ducts, often called "ventilation shafts"—that interconnect Chavín's interior spaces and also connect the galleries to the exterior—had previously prompted measurement of sound transmission through these ducts in several galleries. The three parallel ducts that connect the Lanzón Gallery's interior to the exterior walls above the adjacent Circular Plaza were identified as plausible sound conduits due to their lengths and location. The central of these three west-east horizontal ducts is aligned with the granite monolith's engraved mouth in what could be interpreted to form a symbolic "line-of-speech" (Kolar *et al.* 2012). Fig. 4 shows the alignment between the monolith's mouth and architectural forms.

3 "Un edifico tronante, sonoro, es mucho más impresionante para los peregrinos que un 'oráculo' silencioso; además, la causa del sonido, escondido bajo el edificio, sólo conocida por los sacerdotes o los iniciados, es parte del 'misterio' necesario para una liturgia con dioses feroces y gruñentes. El 'dios hablador' o 'rugiente' es un excelente complemento para el éxito religioso (y económico) de ídolos como el 'Lanzón' de Chavín. El prestigio del sitio podría estar ligado a la precisión de los 'oráculos' (por astronomía) y a la parafernalia litúrgica del templo."

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Analyses of *acoustic impulse response* measurements[4] made between the gallery interior and plaza exterior openings of these ducts show that sonic frequencies in the measured "sounding tone" range of the Chavín *pututus* are emphasized by all three ducts, whereas the transmission of other frequencies is substantially suppressed and decreases from interior to exterior (a detailed discussion of these findings and their perceptual implications is given in Kolar *et al.* 2012). These structures are thus demonstrated to be mechanical acoustic filters that could selectively transmit the sounds of the site-excavated shell horns—and similar *Strombus galeatus pututus*—played inside the Lanzón Gallery, to the exterior space of the Circular Plaza. Furthermore, the central duct that terminates on the plaza's central staircase additionally emphasizes articulatory frequencies of these shell horns, thereby enhancing and centralizing their sonic projection in comparison to *pututu* sounds that pass through the two parallel ducts. The sound of the Chavín *pututus* would be mechanically projected from the depths of the Lanzón gallery, symbolically from the aligned mouth of the carved monolith, out to listeners in the the plaza. Instrumental and architectural acoustics converge in a mechanism that enables, and perhaps evinces, a sounding oracle associated with Chavín's great monolith.

Can the sounds of ancient ritual at Chavín be reproduced today? Although repeated acoustic measurements have verified the sonic filtering properties of the Lanzón-to-Circular Plaza ducts, direct testing of this extant architecture using *Strombus* shell horns does not produce the expected strong auditory effect for present-day observers, likely due to wall fragmentation and post-Chavín modifications to extant plaza architecture. Therefore, computational acoustic modeling (in progress by our team) is necessary to produce auralizations that simulate the acoustic dynamics of estimated ancient architecture (including several suggested alternatives and reconstructions of the setting across its proposed construction sequence, as given by Kembel 2001; 2008). Yet even without such further testing, this comparative archaeoacoustics finding reveals a plausibly engineered mechanism for a sounding oracle at Chavín that is both architecturally constructed, and instrumentally specific to the site's shell horns. The Chavín *pututus,* depicted as if performed in procession on Circular Plaza facing-stones—and proximally excavated, from the Caracolas Gallery just south of the plaza—are acoustically linked to the monolith's

4 Impulse response measurement is a technique that comprehensively characterizes the acoustics of a measured space or instrument. Details and references for our implementations at Chavín are given in Abel *et al.* (2008a; 2008b), Kolar *et al.* (2012) and Kolar (2013).

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locus, compelling situational evidence for the ritual importance of these powerful, use-worn instruments.

Ancient Sound, Archaeological Psychoacoustics, and Music Archaeology

Ultimately, the study of ancient sound is important because of its anthropological implications: both music archaeology and archaeoacoustics implicitly deal with sound that humans once produced and perceived. Integrative archaeoacoustic research can address and interconnect many forms of evidence in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of ancient musical instruments and their performance contexts. Just as acoustics are frequently implied yet infrequently discussed in music-archaeological discourse, the human experience of sound is a greatly neglected topic in archaeology, though increasingly studied. Conceptual and methodological obstacles may include anticipated cultural, individual, and contextual variation among and across estimated (ancient) and engaged (present-day) subjects, not to mention the fragmentary nature of ancient sound-related evidence. However, experimental and cross-disciplinary approaches to cognitive archaeology, such as those suggested for the Chavín context by John Wolf (2013), integrate ethnographic and social science research in comparative studies that can help identify and substantiate the experiential implications of ancient material evidence. Experimental psychology offers methodologies for both evaluating the range of human perceptual possibility and identifying its "universals", including established consensus-testing paradigms and statistical analysis techniques that can be applied in order to identify and predict perceptual trends in experienced environmental dynamics. The application of such tools in an archaeological setting can help researchers estimate and understand sonic components of ancient ritual.

The well-preserved interior architecture of the ceremonial center at Chavín provides a rare opportunity for direct auditory perceptual testing of environmental acoustic dynamics in an archaeological site for which instrumental and ritual evidence co-exist. Psychoacoustic experimentation was engaged on site at Chavín as part of the author's doctoral dissertation research, in which "three explored premises relate sound with human experience: 1) acoustic dynamics have predictable auditory perceptual correlates; 2) acoustic features of physical spaces can be perceptually identified and manipulated by humans; 3) auditory effects can influence the beliefs

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of individuals (through the empirical verification that implicitly occurs via personal experience)" (Kolar 2013). The psychophysical nature of *auditory localization*—a spatial orientation mechanism that informs a hearer about his or her relationship to surroundings, including objects, beings, and events—makes it a timeless characteristic of the human organism, and thus a perceptual topic that can be studied in present-day humans, with results extended to ancient people who once experienced the acoustic dynamics of interest. How Chavín's interior "gallery" architectural acoustics affect auditory localization could be a key element in ceremonial communication dynamics and a fundamental aspect of spatial experience for participants of ancient ritual in these spaces. To better understand these architectural-perceptual relationships, the author designed and implemented a systematic set of tests (as a Stanford IRB-approved, bilingual English/Spanish experiment protocol) in which 45 adult volunteers from several cultures evaluated sound source locations while occupying specific listening positions in two exemplary galleries. Participants were led to selected places within Laberintos and Doble Ménsula galleries and asked to assess, in the dark, without visual cues, the locations of directional sound sources. The experiment sound stimulus was appropriate to the archaeological context and consistent across tests: a recording of one of the Chavín *pututus,* reproduced through calibrated loudspeakers positioned in several places within the galleries. The illustration in Fig. 5 shows one of the 32 auditory localization experiment test conditions used to evaluate perception of sound source location in Chavín's Laberintos Gallery.

Auditory localization experimentation within the Chavín galleries has probed the human auditory perceptual implications of architecture and instruments linked to ancient ritual. In contrast to the thematically motivated observations of researchers, perceptual evaluations from a group of unbiased experiment participants can demonstrate both a range of possible responses as well as their agreement. Perceptual consensus among participants, across the range of experiment conditions, indicates that Chavín gallery architecture directs or projects sound in predictable ways according to the structures that separate a sound source and its listener. The formal characterization of architecture in terms of its acoustic features implies an understanding of built space as a tool that can be understood, crafted, and employed in manipulations of human experience (not unlike a musical instrument). For example, a Chavín *pututu* player familiar with gallery acoustics could use this knowledge to manipulate an unfamiliar visitor's perception of the distance and location between

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them, in order to transform the visitor's sense of space, place, and even reality; such experiential transformations might underly ritual practice. Such a structured sonic environment within Chavín's restricted-access building interiors would provide a sensory conduit for social influence: "an appeal to the senses is a strong convincing tool to influence beliefs on a personal level, and such empirically generated individual experiences can translate to broader social significance" (*ibid.*: 62).

Whatever the specific ephemeral constituents of the ceremonial sound environments in ancient Chavín—from sounds generated as byproducts of human activity, to intentionally structured sound produced as a ritual (musical?) component—architectural acoustics at ancient Chavín would have shaped human perception according to formal dynamics that can be explored through systematic study and consensus testing with living observers. Where intact architecture remains, on-site perceptual experiments can be conducted in order to evaluate many sensory implications, but in cases of fragmentary or implied evidence, computational acoustic modeling is necessary to produce auralizations that allow an abstracted form of auditory evaluation (as discussed in Kolar 2013 and employed in ongoing research). Recordings and computational acoustic models of ancient instruments, such as Chavín's *Strombus galeatus* shell horns, can likewise be used in auditory perceptual studies.

Sonified Ritual at Ancient Chavín

Integrative archaeoacoustic research is revealing how ancient ritual in the ceremonial center at Chavín de Huántar would have been enlivened by converging instrumental and architectural acoustics. Comparative acoustic measurements of Chavín's well-preserved interior architecture and site-excavated *Strombus galeatus* shell horns provide physical dynamic evidence for a "sounding oracle" perceptually and symbolically located at the ceremonial locus of its Lanzón Gallery and Circular Plaza. The human perceptual implications of ancient Chavín's multifaceted and plausibly engineered sound environment would have been central to ritual practice that incorporated the powerful musical/sound-producing instruments. These findings are further supported by ethnographic studies and auditory perceptual experiments that engage living humans' responses to the instrumental and architectural acoustics. In-progress analyses, modeling, testing, and data contextualization are steps toward more detailed interpretations and the creation of interactive public interfaces for

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exploring the site's ancient sound environments. Through these investigations, we are building a better understanding of the interconnections among multifaceted forms of acoustic and anthropological evidence for ancient ritual—and its sonic or musical components—in the monumental Andean ceremonial center at Chavín.

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The Flight of the Sorcerers

Sound, Power and Hallucinogens in Wari Expansion Strategies during the Middle Horizon, Peru (ca. AD 500-900)

By Mónica Gudemos

In the Central-Meridional Andes, during the Middle Horizon (AD 500-900), a specialized group of Wari musicians had a specific and important social function within the framework of the religious practices of the elite, not only in rituals of their own society but also in those of other cultures. It can be suggested that these musicians were incorporated as part of the elites. On the basis of iconographic studies and recent archaeological discoveries, we infer that they would have not only assumed musical responsibilities in those practices, but also ritual ones. They could also have been the brujos *(sorcerers), who experienced the so-called ecstatic flight of ritual transcendence.*

/8. chaypis ñispa ñirqan: "ynga, runaykikta kamachiy bruxoknakta ima hayka yaĉaqkunaktapas ura tiqsiman ka[n]ĉanqanchikpaq" ñiptinsi yngaqa tuylla kamachirqan
/9. chaysi wakinnin runakuna "ñuqam condorpaq kamasqa kani" ñispa ñirqanku
/10. wakinsi "ñuqam wamanpa kamasqa kani" ñirqan
/11. wakinmi kanan "ñuqam wayanay pisqu pawaq kani" ñispa ñirqan

/8. Then [Cuniraya Huiracocha] said: 'Inca, give you instructions your men to send to sorcerers, to all the wise, to the lowlands'. The Inca did it at straight away.
/9. Some men [among sorcerers] said they were animated by the Condor.
/10. Others said they were animated by the Hawk.
/11. One said he used to fly through the air [shaped] swallow.

(Huarochirí Manuscript [circa 1596-1608], after Taylor 1987: 244)

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Winds of Change

An important sociopolitical reconfiguration, fostered by a series of change factors, took place in the main cultural centers of the Southern Andes during the 6th century AD, coinciding temporally with the dynamics of social changes that occurred in the highlands of the central Andes with the rise of the Wari Empire. A strong diversification, as well as social stratification and inequality characterized such change, particularly in the development of certain specifics of a religious, technological and artistic nature, such as ritual practices socially differentiated, thematic innovations of the iconography, formation of new economic spaces and networks of exchange (including control of trade routes of hallucinogenic plants), technological innovations in agriculture and the beginning of the specializations in the production of ceramic and metallurgy, all of which played a vital role in the dynamics of supraregional relations (Owen/Goldstein 2001; Lagens 2004; Roldán/Sampietro Vattuone 2011; Gudemos 2012a; 2012b). The mutual influences between hegemonic societies like Tiahuanaco with a strong presence in the Bolivian highlands, San Pedro in the oasis of Atacama in northern Chile, as well as Aguada in northwestern Argentina, are not only understood through the analysis of the raw materials, manufacturing processes and styles of the goods exchange, but also through the analysis of the ideological symbolism reflected in the iconography (Makowski 2001; Scattolin 2006; Nastri/Stern Gelman 2011). The circulation routes of these objects were in many cases related to control strategies and access to different ecological zones and confirm the existence of exchange networks and caravan traffic that brought different populations into contact. However, the control of these circulation routes did not always depend on the sociopolitical regulations of the mentioned hegemonic cultures (Nielsen 2011). This happened, for example, with the Chicha tribes of the inter-Andean valleys, between the Valley of Lipez and the Chaco, who became fundamental as intermediaries in the trade of hallucinogenic plants used for ceremonial purposes, such as *Anadenanthera, Banisteriopsis* and *Psychotria,* along with intoxicating plants (not hallucinogenics), such as those of the genus *Nicotiana.* These plants were traded between the highland regions of Bolivia and southern Peru, the eastern lowlands of Bolivia, coastal regions of southern Peru, and even portions of the Amazon, the routes of the *ceja de selva* (Mulvany 1994; Angelo Zelada/Capriles Flores 2000).

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Wari administration had substantial participation in intercultural relations of the southern Andes. Indeed, during the expansion of their empire the Wari settled their colonies in strategic areas (such as those occupied by Tiahuanaco populations in the Osmore River basin, see Owen/Goldstein 2001), establishing new political alliances and determining conventions in religious practices (as possibly the consumption of plants of the genus *Brugmansia* or magical flight) and in symbolic iconography of ceremonial use. They also participated in the same way in the central Andes, even exercising cultural influences on the Moche settlements of the coastal valleys of northern Peru (Castillo Butters 2000; Gudemos 2012a).[1]

Among these iconographic conventions and configurations the social presence of "winged creatures" and high rank personages shown in "ecstatic flight" reached symbolic relevance and wide spatiotemporal dispersion (Mulvany 1994; Makowski 2001) in the same way as did certain musical instruments, such as the small Wari bone flutes (Gudemos 2001) depicted in Recuay (circa AD 100-800), and Chincha (circa AD 900-1435) sculpted clay vases, where they are related to prominent characters in static flight. These instruments, whose acoustical analysis reveal the existence of accurate tuning systems that we will explain below, are doubtless the product of specialized musicians of high performance ability, who, would soon be included by other Andean cultures as prestige goods with specific functions in ritual activities of the elite (Gudemos 2012a; 2012b).

Within this context of cultural interrelationship we analyze the social function of these "musician-shamans", these wise men and sorcerers who assisted the *kurakacuna* (local leaders) and important priests through their hallucinogenic flights and musical specializations. The existence of tuning systems, as inferred through the analysis of small Wari bone flutes, leads us to think about a musical conception that goes beyond the simple production of sounds. Moreover, the sophisticated re-tuning processes that we can observe in the archaeological instruments (for instance, they rendered finger holes impractical by use of clay, resin or paints) and the findings of "model-flutes" or "pattern-flutes", with indication marks of the builders, provide evidence of the importance of achieving the required tunings (Gudemos 2001; 2009). If we consider these ritual contexts, we can understand this precision as a need of "controlling the sound", as we observe in several ethnographic examples. Among the Panamanian and Columbian Tule, for instance, the *ganagan* (therapeutic chanters) must be very careful when

1 Recent finds by the group of archaeologists directed by Miłosz Giersz in Huarmey (Ancash) revealed the existence of an important Wari settlement in North Peru, which will change some of the conclusions about Wari expansion.

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tuning their *igar* ("song/way") that "leads" the sound for communicating with the spirit world (Castillo 2005). For the Tule, as well as for the shamans of the Vaupés, the concept of "tuning" is to "reach the magic tone" and "find the spirit or the soul" of the voice or the musical instruments, which is essential in being able to "control" the emission of ritual sound; a control that can only be exercised after years of training in ritual practices (José Quispe, personal communication). For this reason, the singers or players are considered specialists, and are very often the shamans themselves who become musician-shamans.

Specialized Demand and Iconographical Convention

Archaeological evidence reveals the existence of a particular group of musicians of the Wari culture who, during the Middle Horizon, achieved a high level of specialization in fixing not only aerophone tuning modules, but also in applying a specific measuring system based on proportional lengths of instruments (Gudemos 2001; 2009; 2012a; 2012b). Using statistical analysis of 108 archaeological Wari bone flutes (taxon 421.111.12), from the central coast of Peru, two databases were created. One of them took into consideration all of the collection and the second one included 54 examples. The analysis of these databases established the existence of six different tuning systems, each of them corresponding to a particular flute design. The tuning systems seem to have been organized by the Wari using a method of proportional lengths, which we determined using Pearson´s correlation coefficient. Our research also revealed that the six systems were related to a common proportional principle, which we named Pichca-Tawa (5-4 in Quechua). It operates under the principals of Andean measuring systems, where the unit is divided into five and four parts. These fixed patterns were used proportionally depending on the length of the flute. This information has permitted us to reconstruct the flutes and analyze their sounds.

On account of their skill, these specialized musicians might have been related to elite ritual activities, not only of those practiced in their own society, but also possibly of those practiced among other ethnic groups, in which they were "incorporated specialists" or attached specialists to the elite (Brumfiel/Earle 1987; Costin 1991; Castillo Butters/Rengifo Chunga 2008). Regarding the specialist musicians of the Andean Pre-Hispanic world, the chronicles observed that "para cada negocio tenían ordenados sus cantares ó romances [for each business, they have an ordered

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set of songs or romances]" (Cieza de León 1943 [1553]: 75 [Chapter 11]) and that in the ceremonies there were individuals with specific musical functions "empezando uno que para este efecto estaba señalado [there was one responsible for starting the ceremony]" (Cobo 1956 [1652], vol. 2: 223 [Book 13, Chapter 32]) and that "los tañedores eran indios enseñados para dar música al Rey y a los señores vasallos [the instrumentalists were indians trained to play for the king and the vassals]" (Vega 1949 [1609]: 120 [Book 2, Chapter 26]), being occasionally the Inca himself who performed as the main musician (Segovia 1943 [1553]: 51-52) or even produced the social sound of the elites known as the "*uaricza tone*" (Poma de Ayala 1987 [1615]: 320, Folio 319/*Fiestas*), a sound that the Inca defined, imitating the sound of a *vicuña,* symbol of power. This sound was used to tune the ceremonial singing, sang by the elite groups (Poma de Ayala 1987 [1615]: 320, Folio 319/*Fiestas*).

Sarmiento de Gamboa (1988 [1572]: 52-53 [Part 1, Chapter 11]) also wrote about professional musicians in Cuzco, located in the *ayllus* (traditional communities) of *Huacaytaqui* and *Tarpuntay,* such as the dancing musicians *Chumbivilcas.* On this last point, and specifically in the area of Wari cultural influence, the *Manuscript of Huarochirí* (circa 1600, Chapter 9: 29) mentions the *huacsas,* a group of dancing musicians who performed ritual functions, made up of members of different lineages of the communities conquered by the Checa, a group that inhabited the Huarochirí province (Taylor 1987: 169). The *huacsas* or "high priests" (*Relación de Ávila* AGI, Lima 301) were trained in religious traditions and ceremonial practices, specifically in ritual music and dancing. It seems then that the Checas, had restored ancient Wari ritual practices in the region, and that the *huacsas* were trained by them as professional musicians (probably also with priestly functions). Possibly these *huacsas* returned afterwards to their original communities or were sent to others, restoring the Wari musical traditions in different territories. This might have been the case with the women artisans (M-U1403) who specialized in the carving of bone flutes in the Wari tradition, who by the musical specificity of their craft was *attached* to the elite Mochica women-shamans of San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley (Fig. 1) towards the end of the late Mochica Period (AD 600-850) but mainly during the Transitional Period (AD 850-1000) (Castillo Butters/Rengifo Chunga 2008). The grave goods included aerophones of Wari tradition, some finished and some in a construction stage, with typologies similar to those alluded to by us in previous studies (Gudemos 2012b).[2]

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According to the data gathered in our research, the social promotion of the craft of these Wari specialists, and the construction of small bone flutes with specific tunings, could be a response to a demand within the framework of "institutionalized" ritual practices.

The demand for bone flutes of the Wari tradition would have had been centered on the central coast of Peru during the Wari Expansion Period (AD 500-900) and, to a lesser degree, during the Regional States Period (AD 900-1400), mainly in the regional areas of Pachacamac, Ancon and Chancay, as we can deduce through the study of the archaeological data, the contexts of the finds and the archaeological instrument artifacts.

On the other hand, recent studies allow us to conclude that as far as sound production is concerned the systematization used by these Wari specialists could be the result of a long process of experimentation and conceptual revisions. Its origin might have taken place in a convergence of acoustical and technical principles well-known in cultural regions of the southern coast of Peru and the Circum-Titicaca, respectively (Gudemos 2009). Indeed, in our analysis we found that the basic acoustic principles for determining Wari tuning modules were already known by Nasca musicians (and maybe even by Paracas musicians of the late Formative period),[3] and that the systematic way of working with bone material to make Wari ritual flutes, at least as far as the selection cutting and polishing of bone tubes is concerned, already existed in Tiahuanaco occupations, such as in Lukurmata (see Janusek 1999). We believe that Wari musicians developed the basic designs of Nasca-Paracas and Tiahuanaco traditions and applied them to longitudinal bone flutes during

2 We refer here to the six typologies of bone flutes (taxon 421.111.12), called *Pachacámac, Chancay, Chancay* (G), *Chancay* (Gb), *Ocucaje y Ancón* (name after the place of origin). Each typology has specific characteristics, depending of the type of bone, the cutting and sanding, the manufacturing of the mouth piece and its tuning. The main archaoelogical examples belong to collections held at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin: VA1276, VA12139, VA12141 to VA12143, VA22444 to VA22453, VA24399, VA24400, VA24801 to VA24808, VA26685, VA34279, VA35503, VA37009, VA37008, VA37214, VA37637, VA39148, VA39152, VA39158 to VA39177, VA39180, VA39185 to VA39191, VA39197, VA39201, VA39565, VA44411, VA45191, VA62988, VA64263; the Museo de Arqueología de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos Lima: 363.03B-004, 363.03B-005, 363.03B-006, 363.03B-008, 363.03B-010, 363.03B-011, 363.03B-012, 363.03B-015, 363.03B-018, 363.03B-019, 363.03B-021 to 363.03B024, 363.03B-028, 363.03B029, 363.03B030; the Museo Inka de la Universidad de San Antonio Abad de Cuzco: 3404-C, MOH-112 and the Museum für Völkerkunde München: G2788, G2789, G2791 to G2796, G2799, G2781, 59-24-5. For analysis we did a digital reconstruction of one of the bone flutes that was in the construction stage and found in tomb M-U1403 (Rengifo Chunga 2007: 27, Fig. 27). The distribution of the holes conforms to the measuring system *pichqa-tawa,* determined from the Wari tuning modules (Gudemos 2012b).

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the socio-political reconfiguration mentioned above, a time when the Wari culture reached its greatest technological development and cultural expansion.

Wari techniques had progressed to achieve a remarkable importance in the structure of certain ritual practices. The largest quantities of examples, and also those of the best quality, come from the archaeological sites of Ancón, Chancay, Pachacámac and Ocucaje, and are connected with ceremonial centers, such as the temple of Pachacamac and, possibly, the last phase of the temple of Cahuachi. Moreover, northwards, the finds of these flutes in Moche ritual contexts, such as the ones of San José de Moro (where the tomb of a female flute builder, showing grave goods more suitable for an elite member than for an artisan, was unearthed) are another example of their increasing importance. Consequently, it seems that Wari musicians (or musicians trained in the Wari musical tradition, probably *huacsas*) had a significant presence in certain ritual practices, which may indicate the existence of a religious basis with a broad consensus in the pre-Hispanic Andean world. This basis aside, through use of local performative modes, which were socially channeled and ceremonially expressed, they promoted a series of "conventions" of a mainly iconographic nature (Makowski 2001). Such "conventions" reflected this presence with remarkable clarity. Indeed, within the context of these dynamics of Andean sociopolitical reconfigurations there emerged an iconography highly significant for our study. In agreement with Dale Olsen (2005: 51) we talk about the iconography of the "ecstatic flight". This iconography corresponds to a basic representative stereotype: a human figure (generally a high ranking person) with a cephalic ornament, shown in ventral position (in most cases on a platform), the head violently inclined and tilted back, legs bent backwards and upwards, and hands with elements such as vessels, trumpets, flutes or smoking pipes. "Active elements", such as musical instruments at the moment of sound production or pipes at the time of smoking, are also frequently shown (Fig. 2). Generally, the principal person is accompanied by "assistants" with specific functions: as drummers, carriers of vessels or "flight escorts". It was also important for our study to discover that in some of these representations the principal person apparently plays flutes, which are shaped according to Wari ritual bone flutes, and which again are a subject of our research (Gudemos 2012a). Therefore we think that these images somehow allude to practices that

3 The panpipes of the Nasca culture (200 BC - AD 600), such as those from Cahuachi (Gruszczyńska-Ziółkowska 2009), have been tuned starting from proportional lengths whose correlation coefficients indicate the existence of modules or a "sound series" that is clearly established. For the accuracy achieved we think that these basic acoustic principles were already known during the late phase of the Paracas culture (400-200 BC).

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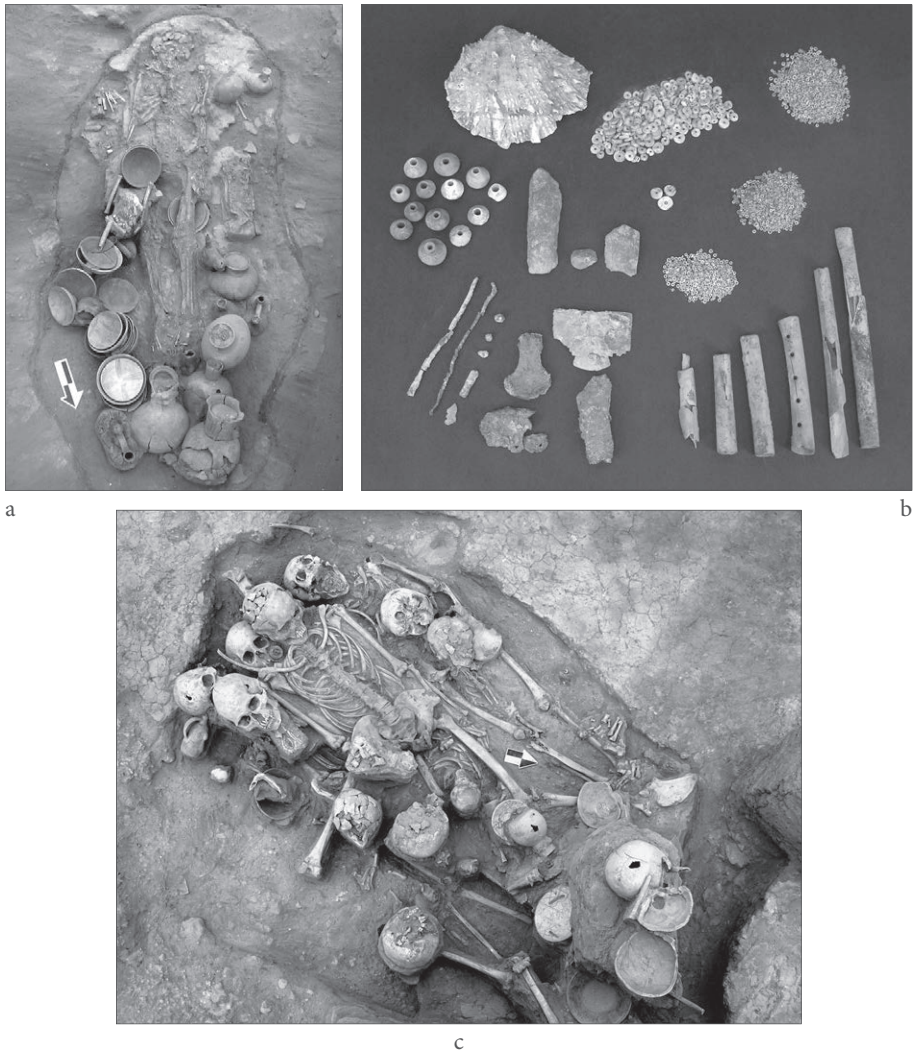

Fig. 1 a) Tomb of a craftswoman maker of flutes (San José de Moro, tomb M-U1403), in which were found aerophones of Huari tradition, some finished and some in construction process, with typologies similar to those studied by us. b) This Tomb is associated to the tombs of the Mochica women-shamans of the site San José de Moro in Jequetepeque Valley, North Coast of Peru (e.g. tomb M-U1221. c) This finding was of fundamental importance to understand the "social function" of these flutes. Source: Castillo Butters/Rengifo Chunga (2008). Images reproduced by permission of the Director of the activities in San José de Moro Dr. Luis Jaime Castillo Butters.

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a

b

d

c

e

Fig. 2 a) Bronze adornment of a Chimu ceremonial cane, Virú (Baessler 1902). b) Bronze adornment of a Chimu ceremonial cane [MA7495]. c) Fragment of a Ancon textile (Reiss/Stübel 1880-1887). d) Detail of a Chancay pottery vessel (Olsen 2005). e) Detail of decorative repoussé of a Chimú metal bowl, Trujillo (Baessler 1902).

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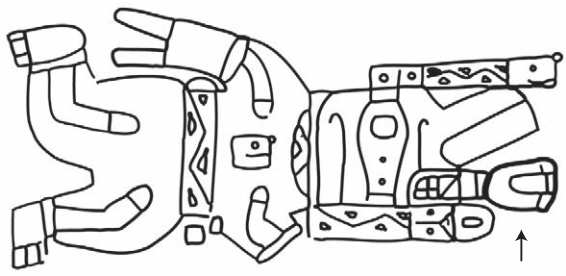

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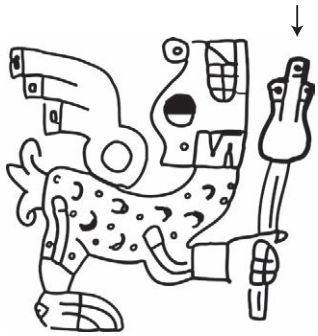

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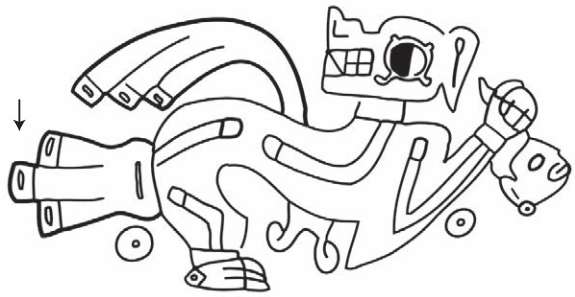

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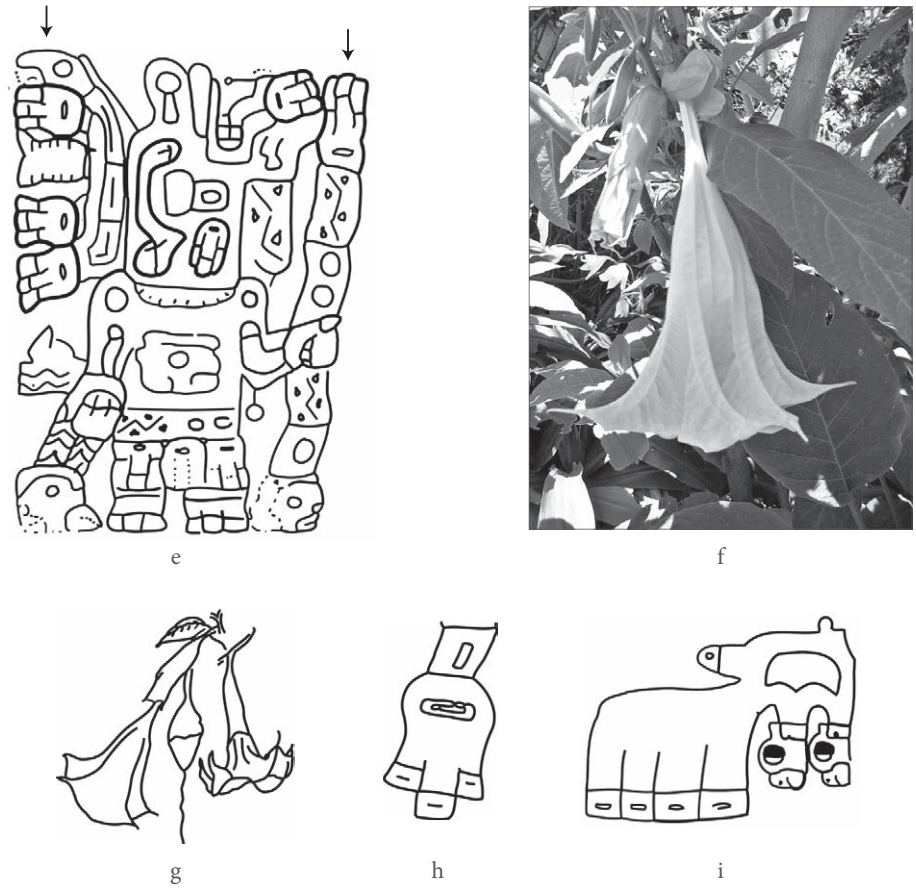

Fig. 3 Brugmansia *and the "ecstatic flight": Iconographic understanding made from studies by Mulvany (1994) on Huari and Tiahuanaco designs. a) Anthropomorphic figure "in ecstatic flight" with* Brugmansia *in the mouth (Calle Linares Lintel). b) An "angel", according to the Menzel categorization, in the decoration of a ceramic bowl. The winged figure presents* Brugmansia *attributes. c) Another winged figure, with trophy head, in the same style. Here, the* Brugmansia *symbol may represent the intake of* Brugmansia *concoction by rectum. d) Huari/Atarco bowl with similar decoration [MN 117, MVM]. e) Detail of decoration of a snuff tablet found in the site Niño Korin. The figure has* Brugmansia *flower arrangements. f)* Brugmansia *flower. g) Drawing of flower and fruit of* Brugmansia *(after Mulvany 1994). h)* Brugmansia *flower in the Tiahuanaco/Huari iconographic understanding. i) The wing, as a symbol of "ecstatic flight" is iconographically equated with* Brugmansia *flower (detail of representation of a Huari winged personage, Conchopata style).*

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Fig. 4 Iconographic interpretation that, from the data collected in Bolivia and south Peru, we made of a "floral element" of Brugmansia, *carved in a* rapé *tablet from the archaeological site Niño Korin (Charasani, La Paz, Bolivia). The iconographic relationship between the* Brugmansia *and the ornithomorphic elements synthesizes the ritual concept understood today by healers as "the flight of brujos".*

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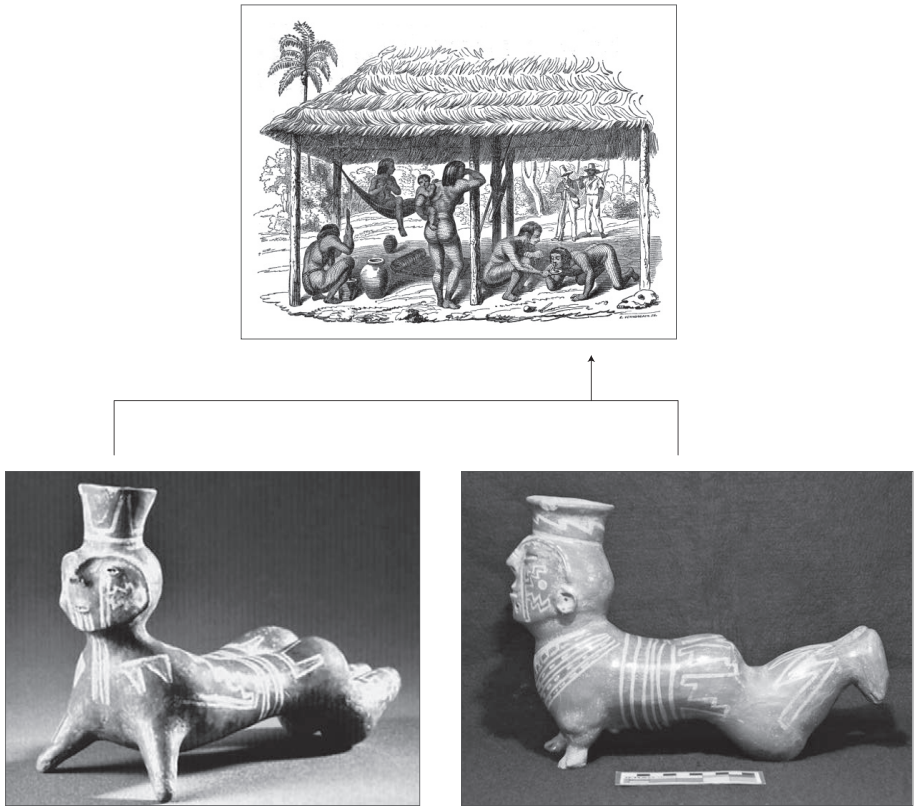

Fig. 5 Top: Picture published by Mariano Eduardo De Rivero y Ustaritz in 1857 in the first volume of his collection of scientific papers. In the picture the author depicts a moment in the Yaruro's lives of Puerto San Simon, in which one is inhaling yopo, assisted by another. The position of his body is common among South American Indians during inhalation of substances rich in alkaloids. See right the Condorhuasi ceramic vessels in human shape, northwestern Argentine, circa AD 100-500 (Scattolin 2006: 363 and UTN Museum).

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produced sounds, whose timbres and tessituras were ritually assimilated as equivalent to those sound characteristics perceived in the "ecstatic flight", under the influence of psychoactive substances. These sounds could have been "ordered" under certain tuning modules, as a way "to control" the sounds intended for such practices. No wonder why both the bone flutes under study and this particular iconography, would have shared the same geographical and temporal dispersion, whose beginning we associate with Wari expansion starting from the Middle Horizon (with the cultural imprint of Nasca/Paracas and Tiahuanaco, as we earlier wrote); and further, that both were culturally assimilated more strongly on the Central Coast and other areas of influence, where elite groups concentrated their main ceremonial activity (Eeckhout 2004; Pinedo/Tantaleán 2008).

What we do not know yet is whether the main protagonist of the ritual scene, the flute player, is a shaman with precise musical knowledge (and a need for musical instruments with specific characteristics) or, if among the roles of the Wari specialized musicians, was an officiator of certain ritual practices, in which they themselves transcended through "ecstatic flight".

Entheogenic Plants and Sounds

In order to control and interpret the auditory hallucinations stimulated by the consumption of entheogens, as well as to reproduce the sounds with which shamans are able to "remember the return from their trip" (José Quispe, personal communication), certain Andean and Amazonian communities have developed complex processes of codification and systematization of sound formulas that they carefully respect. These formulas are in the hands of certain individuals with specific knowledge, as we observe, for instance, among the shamans of Cofán, eastern Ecuador and the Kamsa shamans of Upper Putumayo (Colombia), who, for example, understand and reproduce the "sounds of *yagé*"[4] (Robinson 1996; Garzón Chiviri 2002). Around these processes, there is a particular musical conception that requires the musicians to be shamans themselves or, at least, to be initiated in the ritual practices of his community. For instance, for the construction and use of holy instruments such as the bone-flutes of the aboriginal peoples from the river Pirá Paraná basin in Colombia, the builders should master not only the technical ability for

4 *Yagé, yajé, yagugue, mariri, pildé* or *ayahuasca* is a brew, a mix of psychoactive infusions or decoctions prepared with the psychotropic plant *Banisteriopsis caapi* (a shrub or extensive liana found in the tropical forests of South America).

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their manufacture, but should also control the healing power (both for physical and psychical illnesses) and the social cohesion capacities (keeping the community connected to its ancestors) that the sounds (the voice that spreads the mythical knowledge) possesses (see Chaumeil 1997). This knowledge implies the production of certain rhythmic and melodic patterns, ritually organized for specific practices. This also happens among the healers of Tarapoto (Highland Peruvian Amazonia), which use the *icaros* (healing songs), musical instruments and a precise rhythmical pattern marked by shaking the *shacapa* (a bunch of leaves and branches), in order to control the energy of the ceremony. The *Yachac-Runa* (wise men), Quechua speakers of the Sibundoy Valley (Putumayo, Colombia) proceed likewise, and this practice is mentioned in their myths about their "encounter with the yagé" (Torres 2000).

According to information gathered by our ethnographic field work in Bolivia and southern Peru, the shaman promotes experientially (only when necessary) the interference of neurotransmission mechanisms, that is, interference of a sensorial perception process and of a normal conscious registration (Dusek/Girdano 1990: 34; Méndez López 2007: 186); not in order to neutralize his cognitive modes, but to optimize them and thus enter another level of perception and knowledge; one that allows him "to learn" how to act and react within society. For shamans, sacred plants—entheogens—are the biochemical keys leading to "the doors of perception" (to adopt a concept of Huxley [1954] see Vergara Oliva 2010).

The Andean ritual, in its relationship to Amazonian cultures through the use of psychotropic plants, has been widely discussed. And in fact, the ethnographic studies by Reichel Dolmatoff among the Kogui and Vaupes Tukano are eloquently written in regard to the relationship between sound (songs and music), consumption of hallucinogenic plants and ritual *flights of yagé.* Although Reichel Dolmatoff's observations always clung to a symbolic interpretation of Freudian concepts (Pineda Camacho 2003: 30), the cultural reading that he made about shamanism "as a coherent system of beliefs and practices that seek to organize and explain the interrelationships between cosmos, nature and man" (Reichel Dolmatoff 1988: 23), is particularly interesting for us. Also interesting is how, from his ethnographic experience, he applied this reading to the study of the concept of shamanism in the art of pre-Hispanic goldsmithing. Pineda Camacho (2003: 20, citing Reichel Dolmatoff) thinks that in goldsmithing the shamanic complex of the pre-Hispanic indigenous societies is more clearly manifested than in other artistic expressions, for it is there

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"where the ecstatic flight icon is its main symbol, since the flight shall be always the image of transcendent man".

To Reichel Dolmatoff (1988: 26) the use of psychotropic plants "is strictly related to the so-called *shamanic flight,* that is, the feeling of dissociation during which the shaman's spirit separates from his body and goes into other dimensions of the cosmos, either to find in them the cure of diseases, or to consult supernatural beings or the ancestors". To Reichel Dolmatoff, the *ecstatic flight* "provides the model for the concept of transformation. On the basis of this, the shaman, under the influence of certain narcotics, believes he can turn into a bird, a jaguar or other animals and wander about our terrestrial world without being recognized" (Reichel Dolmatoff 2005: 51)

According to studies of neurological syndromes associated with the consumption of hallucinogenic plants in the Peruvian Amazon, *ayahuasca* consumption (a brew made from the leaves of the jungle vine, *Banisteriopsis caapi,* and of a shrub, *Psychotria viridis*) causes hallucinations, which are culturally interpreted by shamans as "migrations, where spiritual guides try to lead them into other spiritual dimensions of life" (Carod Artal 2005: 54). Migrations are assumed to be "flights". *Ayahuasca* consumption was, and still is, widespread, especially in various regions of the Amazon, in Bolivia, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia. The tryptamine (N-dimethyl-tryptamine [DMT]) is the main hallucinogen component in these herbal concoctions along with psychoactive properties, such as those of *Banisteriopsis caapi* and *Psychotria viridis.* The effects (interpreted according to the cultural context of the one who feels them) produce intense visual images, bright and fleeting movements, and auditory hallucinations emphasizing both low pitches (related to internal hearing of the bloodstream) and very high pitches (related to the nervous system). During the ritual practices, the use of hallucinogens and the *ecstatic flight* are accompanied by sounds of wooden or shell trumpets and drums (emphasizing bass pitches) or globular flutes, like the whistles and bone flutes studied by us (emphasizing high pitches).

In the Amazon and other Andean regions, the consumption of hallucinogenic brews extracted from certain trees, such as *Anadenanthera peregrina* and *Virola calophylla* (whose barks are rich in alkaloids derived from *tryptamine,* such as *bufotenine*), also produce visual hallucinations and, to a lesser extent, auditory ones (Carod Artal 2005: 54). In the southern Andes the consumption of brews from the *Anadenanthera colubrine* tree, which is equally powerful in alkaloids, was the most widespread since very early times (Torres 1986; 1996).

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However, for the "flight of the *brujos*" (sorcerers), as my Bolivian informants call the hallucinogenic experience, ritual consumption is primarily based on extractions from the "angel's trumpet" *(Brugmansia),* and the use of this plant is also indicated by the particular iconographic "convention" that we focus on. The main component of *Brugmansia* is *scopolamine* and its intake produces not only visual, but also—and in particular—tactile and auditory hallucinations. The effects of its ingestion has two phases: the first, of severe poisoning, with dilated pupils, vomiting, and intense muscle contractions, mainly of the head and back (as in the iconography of "ecstatic flight"); the second phase is of deep sleep. It is during this second phase that the intoxicated shaman starts "the flight", ceases to perceive immediate environmental stimuli and loses the notion of the surrounding reality. The shaman psychically transcends this reality and penetrates into the hallucinations of his inner realities, where he encounters other beings, talks to them in sometimes unintelligible languages, and displays gestures free of cultural conventions in which the concepts of time and space are shifted. Upon his "return", the shaman may suffer amnesia in relation to what happened and how it happened, but not with regard to the "body memory" of the painful convulsions of the first phase and the sensations that impressed the senses during hallucinations. My informants say that the experience "stayed in the flesh".

The Flight of the "Brujos"

In the iconography we study, the relationship between the concept of "flight", sound production and the consumption of hallucinogens (smoked, sniffed or drunk) is obvious.

In another study on the inhalation of hallucinogens in Tiahuanaco culture, by José Berenguer (1987), we were particularly interested in seeking the iconographical relationships that the author establishes, based on the particular body positions adopted to inhale hallucinogens. Berenguer draws our attention, as did Henry Wasen in 1965 from observations made by Max Uhle (1915), to a picture published by Mariano Eduardo De Rivero y Ustaritz in 1857 in the first volume of his collection of scientific papers (Fig. 5). In the picture the author depicts a moment in the life of the Yaruro of Puerto San Simon (eastern plain of Colombia) in which one person is inhaling *yopo (Anadenanthera),* assisted by another. The position of the sniffer's body is common to South American indigenous people during the inhalation of substances

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rich in alkaloids. In some cases this position would be "facilitated" by one leaning in a prone position on a small platform, such as those identified in the above discussed representations of the ecstatic flight (see Fig. 2). On the basis of these observations, a symbolic iconographic understanding of ritual character can be suggested, which refers to certain practices that included the consumption of hallucinogens, possibly by inhalation (seed dust of *Anadenanthera,* for example) or by the intake of concoctions (of *Banisteriopsis caapi,* among others), as can be still observed in the Andean Amazon. The pre-Hispanic iconographic understanding would have conceptually schematized the prone posture and the torsion of the head backwards in a hieratic image: the image of the "ecstatic flight".

In accord with studies conducted by Mulvany (1994), and the representations of personages, shown winged or *flying* in Tiahuanaco and Wari cultures (see Fig. 3), are in some cases more eloquent, considering the iconographic association between what might be called the "concept of flight", and the entheogenic nature of *Brugmansia.* An association that, conceptually, can also be seen today among the *curanderos* (healers) in Bolivia, where they refer to "huanto", a term that in the early 17th century Ludovico Bertonio (1984, Vol. 2: 147) translated as "litera" (bunk) or "culquiera cosa q sirue dello (sic)" [anything that serves this purpose] thus highlighting the analogy between "Pumpu-puca Kkoto" *(Brugmansia blood)* and the object to "transport". If the *huanto* serves to transport, then it follows that the shaman moves suspended-like on a bank, which would also have been iconographically represented by persons suspended on small platforms or supports (see Fig. 2). By analogy, the sensory experience of "suspended travel" after the intake of *Brugmansia blood* or other *Brugmansia species* is nowadays assimilated to include the feeling of "flying", and the *Brugmansia* flowers to the "wings" with which the shaman flies. It is interesting to note how this game of analogies would have been assumed and established in the Middle Horizon as an "iconographic convention" in the symbologies of both Wari and Tiahuanaco. In Fig. 3, following the studies by Mulvany and the ethnographic information compiled for us in Bolivia, the *Brugmansia* flower (indicated by an arrow) is represented in close relationship to a person in "ecstatic flight" or in the shamanic transformation process. Note the similarity between the iconographic representation of the flower and that of the "wing". Figure 4 shows the interpretation that, from the data collected in Bolivia, we made of a "floral element" of *Brugmansia* (Mulvany 1994: 197), carved in a *rapé* tablet from the archaeological site Niño Korin (Charasani, La Paz, Bolivia).

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The iconographic relationship between the *Brugmansia* and the ornithomorphic elements synthesizes the ritual concept understood currently by healers as "the flight of *brujos*". This is a concept clearly contained in Wari iconography, and, as stated above, connected to the bone flutes. Consequently, the relationship between these flutes and ritual practices is a reliable hypothesis, as well as its connection with the consumption of *Brugmansia* and the transcendent flights. Nevertheless, some questions remain unclear: did these specialized Wari musicians took part in the ritual as assistants or did they directly experience it as officiants? Also, were these Wari musicians shamans with specific knowledge of entheogens, or were these musicians the *brujos* with "wings" of *Brugmansia?*

Final Reflection: Specialized Musicians and the Wari Expansion Strategies

From these observations we conclude that the Wari administration would have used its specialized musicians specifically where its influence was more forceful and necessary: in ritual practices. Moche female shamans from San José del Moro were probably influenced by Wari cultural practices. The incorporation of a woman as specialist building flutes in elite context is evidence of this.

Driven by an interest in expanding its area of influence, the Wari administration would have promoted certain strategies that were not always warlike or that involved conflict, but were instead sometimes subtle, and apparently more effective, like those related to artistic traditions. The widespread diffusion of the Wari artistic style (ceramic pastes, forms and iconographic designs, textiles, acoustic systems and music organology, *et cetera*) is evidence of its social power in the Andean World, particularly in its use of so-called "theatrical states" (Geertz 1980), where it is neither coercion, nor economic control that allows for the existence of the state, but the performance of rituals and spectacles on a large scale. This is because rituals are constructed as paradigmatic archetypes for societies, that is, models of behavior, or for what "should be" and the way it should be (Castillo Butters/Rengifo Chunga 2008: 18). Within this framework, the Wari artistic specializations played an important role. In the specific case of musician specialists attached to the elite, like the Wari woman artisan of San José de Moro, they not only would have incorporated musical instruments with specific tuning systems, but new musical concepts that required adequate cultural and technical instruction to be "put into practice".

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Surely, when these musicians specialists also fulfilled ritual functions in the "theatrical states" they became key players of the Wari expansion strategies.

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Membrane Drums as Cosmic Symbols and Shamanic Portals in the Shell Art of Spiro, a Mississippian Mound Site in Oklahoma

By James A. Rees, Jr.

A recent examination of some engraved shell gorgets from the Spiro Mounds in Oklahoma has revealed possible depictions of membrane drums. Using ethnohistoric and ethnographic analogy this paper argues that these iconographic images confirm the presence and importance of both vessel drums and handheld frame drums in pre-Columbian Mississippian Culture. Vessel drums appear to have been important symbolic components of Mississippian cosmology and along with frame drums may have been used in shamanic rituals as portals into spiritual realms.

Because the wet climate of the region makes preservation of artifacts made from wood and animal skin extremely rare, there is almost no direct evidence of pre-Columbian membrane drum use in eastern North America. However, it has always been assumed, based on the strong presence of membrane drums in early historical accounts and in early ethnographies, that these instruments were part of a long tradition in the region stretching far back into the pre-Columbian past. Recently, new and more direct evidence of their pre-Columbian use has come from a reexamination of iconographic images engraved on a particular set of marine shell artifacts from the Spiro Mounds site in eastern Oklahoma (Rees 2012). This paper will attempt to demonstrate that the images portrayed on these artifacts confirm the presence of membrane drums in late pre-Columbian eastern North America and show drums to have been sacred objects related to cosmic symbolism. In addition, these images portray drums in association with other objects that have been identified by VanPool (2009) as shamanic *sacra* and indicators of past shamanic practice when found in an archeological context.

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The present study is based partly on the examination of the artifacts seen in Figs. 1 and 2 currently housed at the University of Arkansas Museum Collections in Fayetteville, Arkansas. Observations concerning other engraved shell artifacts from the Spiro site are based on illustrations and descriptions appearing in Phillips/Brown (1984).[1]

In order to understand the images on these artifacts, it will first be necessary to examine their cultural and historic context. The Spiro mounds were part of a late prehistoric cultural expression in eastern North America known as Mississippian (AD 900– 1600). Located on the Arkansas River, a few kilometers upstream from present day Fort Smith, Arkansas, Spiro was at the far western edge of the Mississippian cultural area, which encompassed most of the Mississippi River valley and much of the southeastern United States (Fig. 3). Spiro is also located in a transitional natural environment, where the Eastern Woodlands begin to give way to the grasslands of the Southern Plains.

The artifacts that will be examined here are a series of gorgets made from large marine whelk shells, which are exotic to the area. The Spiro site is over 700 kilometers from the nearest coastline and much farther from the areas of Florida and Mexico, thought to be the sources of the shells (Phillips/Brown 1978: 26-27). This would seem to indicate that Spiro was part of a large trade network, which brought in exotic artifacts and raw materials. However, recent scholarship has pointed out that Spiro was a relatively small site and lacked access to valuable resources, which could be used in exchange for exotic goods. According to Brown, it now appears that Spiro was part of a "devotional" economy in which goods and labor were brought in and exchanged for access to spiritual power (Brown 2012: 133-136). What the source of that spiritual power was remains a mystery. Perhaps Spiro was thought to be the center of the world, a place where it was possible to gain access to spiritual realms above and below the earth's surface (*ibid*.: 117). The penultimate act in Spiro's career as a sacred ceremonial center was the construction of the Great Mortuary.

Around AD 1400, the Native Americans living at Spiro built a large square structure of bermed earth and wooden poles adjacent to an existing burial mound. Into this structure they brought disarticulated human bones, apparently exhumed from previous burials, and scattered them along with a number of broken artifacts over a split cane floor. On top of this layer they placed wooden litters bearing more human remains along with

1 It should be noted that all of these artifacts are fragmentary. There are plaster reconstructions of some of these artifacts whose images are available on the internet. These plaster reconstructions, done in the 1940s, should be considered highly speculative or erroneous (Phillips/Brown 1984: Plates 133, 137).

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a large number of ritual objects made from wood, textiles, marine shells, pottery, stone, and copper. All of this material was carefully arranged into a tableau oriented towards a large wooden post placed on the north side of the room in what appears to have been a map of the cosmos as they envisioned it. It is believed that this arrangement, which came to be known as the Great Mortuary, was on display for a short time before it was buried under a large conical mound of earth (*ibid.*: 128-130). Until recently it was assumed that the Great Mortuary was an elite burial (*ibid.*: 118; Pauketat 2009: 5). However, it is now viewed as a corporate act of devotion (Brown 2012), perhaps even an act of religious desperation in the face of an unknown menace. Fifty years after the construction of the Craig mound, as it is now known, the site was abandoned.

The Craig mound at Spiro was once considered by many to be the richest single archeological site in North America north of Mexico (La Vere 2007: 143; Pauketat 2009: 4). Unfortunately, it was heavily looted in the early 1930s, before systematic excavations were carried out by the Works Progress Administration from 1936 to 1941 (Brown 1996: 41-83; La Vere 2007). Much valuable information was destroyed by the looters who sold what they found to buyers who came to the site. As a result, the estimated 950 to 1,020 engraved marine shell artifacts from the Great Mortuary (Brown 2012: 134) were scattered around the country in various museums and private collections and some were simply lost.

All of the ritual objects recovered from the Craig Mound were once thought to be associated with what was believed to have been a powerful religious movement, which swept the Mississippian world after AD 1050. This movement, variously referred to as the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC) or the Mississippian Art and Ceremonial Complex (MACC), was said to have had its origin in the great Mississippian city of Cahokia (Fig. 3) located across the Mississippi River from present-day St. Louis (Pauketat 2009: 20-24; Reilly 2004:126). Recently, the SECC as an explanatory construct has come under scrutiny (Knight 2006: 1-5; Lankford 2011a: 3-17). The view which is emerging to replace the SECC as a concept is that Mississippian art is best understood as a series of related local styles. Exactly how these local styles are related remains unclear. The Classic Braden style, which indeed had its origins in Cahokia (Brown 2004: 105-109), seems to have been a major influence, but there were other influences as well. Mississippian art and iconography in whatever style does seem to share certain motifs and conventions that reflect some

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Fig. 1 Engraved shell gorget (37-1-29) with one vessel drum image, Spiro Mounds, Oklahoma. Drawing courtesy of The University of Arkansas Museum Collections.

Fig. 2 Engraved shell gorget (37-1-30) with two vessel drum images, Spiro Mounds, Oklahoma. Photograph courtesy of The University of Arkansas Museum Collections.

Fig. 3 Map of the southeastern United States showing the locations of some important Mississippian ceremonial centers.

Fig. 4 a) Vessel image from Old Town Ridge gorget; b) vessel image from Spiro gorget (37-1-29); c) vessel image fom Spiro gorget (37-1-30). Drawings by Jamie Brandon.

Fig. 5 Ceramic vessel drum with an open hoop drum stick from Acoma Pueblo (Densmore 1957: 3, 34, Pl. 3b).

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Fig. 6 Single skinned frame drum in position to be struck by a rattle. Compare to the image in Fig. 7. Photo by Leslie Walker, Arkansas Archeological Survey.

Fig. 7 Detail of engraved shell gorget with frame drum images, drummer not seen on the left is a mirrored image of the portrayed drummer, Spiro Mounds, Oklahoma. Drawing by author.

Fig. 8 Blue Medicine. Drawing by George Catlin, courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. Call #, Ayer Art Catlin: Box 3, drawer 12.

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degree of shared belief about cosmology and mythology, but with regional variations (Knight 2006: 3; Knight *et al.* 2001).

Two of these major Mississippian art styles were first defined by Phillips and Brown (1978; 1984), who tracked down and studied the over 600 engraved shell artifacts from the Spiro site then known to exist (Phillips/Brown 1978: 24-25). Phillips and Brown did not attempt at the time to interpret the scenes depicted on the shells. Instead they sought to catalogue the most common motifs and to identify the various artistic styles and sub-styles present in the work, with the aim of placing them in the larger context of Mississippian culture. The two major styles they identified and named were the Braden style and the Craig style. The Braden style is the earliest and most pervasive Mississippian art style and represents the power and influence of Cahokia. The later Craig style is thought to be local to the area around the Spiro site. Stylistic differences in Mississippian art are thought to reflect linguistic and cultural differences within the Mississippian world, with the Braden style associated with Dhegihan Siouan speakers and the Craig style associated with Caddoan speakers (Brown 2007: 213-218; Brown 2011: 38- 41). However, attempts to link Spiro to historical tribal groups remain somewhat controversial (La Vere 2007: 19; Schambach 1999: 169-224). Interestingly, all depictions of sound-making instruments in the Spiroan shell art are found on the later Craig style artifacts (Rees 2012: 26). This points to a thematic difference between the two styles, in which the depiction of ritual activity is more common in Craig than in Braden. This is especially true with regard to the Craig A style paired figure gorgets, some of which are the focus of this chapter.

Vessel Drums and Cosmology

Vessel drums were widely used in early historical times by Native American tribes throughout the eastern half of North America (Densmore 1925: 95-96; Fletcher/LaFlesche 1992: 371; Fletcher/Murie 1904: 247; Hudson 1976: 401-402; Radin 1973: 75; Speck 2004 [1909]: 61; Swanton 1928: 521). These drums were of two types; those made from wooden vessels and those made from ceramic vessals. Wooden cylindrical drums such as the Ojibwa *Mide* drum were made from hollowed out logs. One end of the log was left closed and the other end was open. An animal skin was stretched tightly over the open end forming the drumhead (Densmore 1929: 95- 96). Similar

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wooden vessel drums were made by the Siouan speaking Omaha (Fletcher/La Flesche 1992b: 371) and the Caddoan speaking Skidi Pawnee (Dorsey 1904: 300 Fig. 21). Ceramic vessel drums, such as the ones reported among the Quapaw by members of LaSalle's expedition in the 1680s (Hall 1997: 14), were simply large pottery jars whose mouths were covered with skins secured by cordage (Speck 2004 [1909]: 61; Swanton 1928: 521, 600; Hudson 1976: 401-402). Water was placed inside all of these vessels, whether wooden or ceramic, before the drumheads were secured. In fact, these drums were commonly referred to by early ethnographers as "water drums" (Hall 1997: 29, 64, 73; Dorsey 1904: 300). Early observers and later ethnographers wrote that the water inside was used to keep the drumhead tight through occasional sloshing and drying (Densmore 1929: 96). However, there may also have been a symbolic reason for the water in the drums that European observers were not privy to.

Most of the surviving native folklore concerning drums in eastern North America comes from Algonkian speaking tribes such as the Ojibwa (Densmore 1929; Grim 1983; Diamond *et al.* 1994), whose particular history kept them relatively isolated from much European influence until the late 19th century (Grim 1983: 56). It is likely that much of this lore was shared by other tribes of the East and Eastern Plains whose traditions were not as well preserved. In Ojibwa lore the drum played a key role in the establishment of a multilayered cosmos and was seen as a vital link to the spirit beings inhabiting its various levels (*ibid.*: 77-79).

The idea of a multilayered cosmos seems to have been widespread among Native American tribes across eastern North America and their Mississippian ancestors including the inhabitants of Spiro (Reilly 2004: 127-129; Lankford 2007: 14-20; Brown 2011: 42-43; Duncan 2011: 18-32). Although details varied from tribe to tribe, the present study will follow Lankford's (2007: 14-20) use of the central Algonkian version as representative. There is an Above World divided into four levels and a watery Beneath World also divided into four levels. In between the Above World and the Beneath World is the Earth Disk where humans, animals and plants live. The Earth Disk floats on the waters of the Beneath World. Each level of the Above World and the Beneath World is inhabited by a discrete set of spirit beings *(manitouk)* with the Above World presided over by Gitchi-Manitou and the Beneath World presided over by Matchi-Manitou. In human terms, these opposing forces were represented by the Thunders (or Thunderbirds to some) and the monstrous Underwater Panther (to some a giant serpent), respectively *(ibid.)*.

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All of the layers of the cosmos are connected by an *axis mundi,* and this is where the drum becomes an important element in Algonkian cosmology as described by Lankford (*ibid.*: 19), referring to Grim:

"Connecting all the layers […] is the cedar tree which was driven through the planes by Bear at the beginning of ceremonialism […]. Ritually, the equivalent of the cedar is the sacred drum, which creates a sound column, which binds together all layers and opens portals, making possible communication between them (Grim 1983: 84). There are other axes mundi *[…] but the tree is the classic image for the northern people, almost certainly stemming from the ancient circumpolar shamanistic tradition […]."*

The Ojibwa *Mide* drum, the sacred drum of the *Mide* medicine society, was carved from the bole of a tree (Densmore 1929: 95-96) and was thus an ideal model for the multi-layered cosmos. With the water inside it representing the Beneath World and the drumhead representing the Earth Disk, the drum was struck with a drumstick carved in the shape of a bird, a creature associated with the Above World. The sound column established by the repetitive beating of the drum served as a pathway for powerful shamans to travel to the realms of the various *manitouk* and bring back spiritual power for the purposes of healing and divination (*ibid.*: 96; Grim 1983: 159-161; Lankford 2007: 20).

With some variation in detail, it is this drum/cosmos model that is most likely being portrayed on two of the shell gorgets from Spiro (Figs. 1-2). These images were considered enigmatic until the present writer in an earlier article argued that the vessels portrayed on these gorgets were not steaming pots but ceramic vessel drums with the sound column rising from them in the form of the entwined band motif (Rees 2012: 34-41). According to the earlier article, the key feature of these Spiroan images that identifies them as drums is the rectangular bar that covers the mouths of each of the three vessels depicted on the two gorgets. The diagnostic importance of the bar can be seen when the Spiroan vessel images are compared to what is obviously the same vessel rendered in the same Craig A style that appears on a shell gorget from the Old Town Ridge site in northeastern Arkansas (Reilly 2004: 127, Fig. 3). What is different about the vessel on the Old Town Ridge gorget (Fig. 4a) is that it lacks the bar across the top. Without the bar the image on the side of all four of the vessels beneath the rim reveals itself to be an equal armed cross, but the addition of the bar on the

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vessel depictions from Spiro covers the top of the cross converting it into a T-shaped design (Figs. 4b-c). Clearly the bar represents something that has been applied to or stretched over the mouths of the Spiroan vessels, that is the drumhead. According to this interpretation, the bar is an artistic convention indicating the head of the drum and also symbolizing, in a cosmic sense, the Earth Disk.[2]

In a departure from the Algonkian cosmic model, the probable drums on the Spiroan gorgets (Figs. 1-2) are ceramic drums rather than wooden drums. This seems to reflect a slightly different version of the same model, perhaps related to regional differences. Wooden drums appear to have been more common in the northern part of the eastern woodlands whereas ceramic drums were confined to the south (Rees 2012: 35, Table 2). We can assume that these Spiroan vessel drums contained water as all known historic examples did (Speck 2004 [1909]: 61; Swanton 1928: 521, 600). To enhance the Beneath World connection, the pole on which the drum in Fig. 1 appears to rest is decorated with concentric dotted circles, an enigmatic motif frequently seen on the bodies of snakes in Mississippian iconography (Phillips/Brown 1978; 150).

Although the drums on the gorgets are not being played with drumsticks shaped like birds (as is typical for the Ojibwa), there are bird references in the costumes of the drummers. There is a bird on the back of the drummer on the left in Fig. 1 and a feather fan back rack on the other drummer. The drummers in Fig. 2 both appear to have wings. It is generally accepted by scholars that the characters and creatures depicted in the Spiroan shell engravings are spirit beings and culture heroes rather than mortals in costume (Knight *et al.* 2001; Reilly 2004: 131-136; Diaz-Granados 2004: 142-149; Duncan 2011: 30-32). Therefore these drummers are most likely the Thunders or Thunderbirds in anthropomorphic form.

As for the drumsticks themselves, writers in the past have interpreted these as rattles (Phillips/Brown 1984: 133, 134,184; Lankford 2011b: 261). Historically, on the eastern plains drums were often played with rattles or rattling drum mallets (Catlin 1841: 242-244). Another possibility is that the "rattle" in Fig. 1 is a padded drumstick. In Fig. 2 the drummers wield objects that have also been interpreted as rattles, but are unlike rattles seen elsewhere in the shell engravings. The heads of these objects consist of three concentric circles. The handle passes through the outside circle which appears to be a petaloid nimbus, and stops at the second circle. This circle along with the third circle appear to form a ring or hoop to which the handle is attached. The handle does not

2 The Maya used a similar device for depicting the heads of vessel drums. The difference is that the lower edge of the bar across the tops of many Maya drum depictions is often scalloped (Houston *et al.* 2006: 263-264, Figs. 8.12, 8.13b).

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pass though the head of the "rattle" as it appears to in all other Spiro rattle depictions. Inside the third circle is an equal-armed cross which along with the petaloid nimbus marks these objects as associated with the Above World (Reilly 2007: 39-43). It could be argued that these particular "rattles" are symbolically enhanced open hooped drumsticks similar to the one seen in Fig. 5 and documented to have been used to play ceramic drums in the American Southwest (Densmore 1957: 3, 34, Pl. 3b).

In sum, the Spiroan gorgets in Figs. 1 and 2 follow the Algonkian cosmic model with these variations: instead of wooden water drums, there are ceramic water drums enhanced with Beneath World symbols. Across the tops of these drums are bars representing not only the drumhead, but also the Earth Disk. In place of drumsticks in the shape of birds, the drummers themselves are birdmen from the Above World.

Lending support to this interpretation is the analysis of a series of Mississippian shell gorgets featuring related motifs from the Tennessee Valley, closer to the heartland of the Mississippian world (Lankford 2007). In his study of the Cox mound and Hixon style shell gorgets, Lankford concluded that both were cosmograms, but displayed two different views of the cosmos (*ibid*.: 37-38). The Cox Mound gorgets featured a plan view of the cosmos much as a map would. Hixon gorgets offered an elevation perspective or side view of the cosmos. On all of the small circular Hixon style gorgets, two crested birds stand on a bar across the top of a vessel facing a striped pole, which bisects the gorget from top to bottom. Lankford did not recognize the barred vessels as drums, but offers the following analysis: "The striped pole is the *axis mundi* analogous to the sacred cedar tree and the sonic axis of the drum. The bar across the top of the vessel on which the birds stand is the Earth Disk of the Middle World. The crested, sharp beaked birds, most likely woodpeckers, are the Above World Thunders or Thunderbirds. The vessel represents the Beneath World" (*ibid*.: 29-37). From this analysis it is apparent that the Hixon style gorgets are simpler, more stylized analogues of the more elaborate Spiroan vessel drum gorgets (Figs. 1-2). Both offered a cross sectional view of the multilayered cosmos in which the drum plays a major role.

Frame Drums and Shamanic Ritual

If the vessel drum depictions from Spiro symbolize the multilayered structure of the cosmos, the Spiroan images with what will be argued are frame drum depictions

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appear to demonstrate how that cosmic structure can be traversed through shamanic ritual in order to access spiritual power. In fact, all of the anthropomorphic figures in the Craig A style paired figure gorgets from Spiro seem to be engaged in rituals oriented toward some version of the *axis mundi,* usually a central pole. As such they reflect the structure of the cosmos and may also serve as models for proper ritual procedure and regalia (Knight *et al.* 2001: 139; Rees 2012: 26).

There are seven depictions of possible hand-held frame drums in the paired figure shell gorgets from Spiro (Phillips/Brown 1984: 130, 133A, 134A-F, 137). These depictions have puzzled past researchers who have tentatively identified them, without much conviction, as feather fans (Lankford 2011b: 260; Phillips/Brown 1984: 133A). Unfortunately, all of these depictions come from gorgets that are to some extent fragmentary. Six of the seven images on these fragments show disk shaped objects being held by dancing figures in such a way that only the backs of the disks are shown. The dancers are holding the disks in a manner that suggests the fronts of the disks are being struck by the objects in the dancers' other hands.

Only two of these images give partial views of the striking objects. One appears to be a rattle with the handle passing through the rattle chamber (Phillips/Brown 1984: 133A). The other striker appears to be a gourd shaped rattle (Fig. 7). As mentioned earlier rattles or rattle mallets were used to play drums according to historical accounts (Catlin 1841: 242-244).

The backs of the disks show various patterns. There is a web-like pattern (Phillips/Brown 1984: 130). There are also concentric circles (Phillips/Brown 1984: 133A, 134AF, 137). Some of these patterns resemble some of the ways in which single-skinned, hand held frame drums are currently laced across the back by some contemporary Native American drum makers (Spotted Eagle 1997: 61-63). In Fig. 6 the writer is shown playing a frame drum made by a Micmac craftsman. Notice the petaloid pattern formed by the lacing on the back of the drum. Three of the Spiroan disk images have definite petaloid borders around the outside of the disk (Phillips/Brown 1984: 130, 133A, 134A). These borders are most likely symbolic nimbuses. Less distinct markings that have been called petaloid such as those seen in Fig. 7 may only be intended to indicate lacing.

If these disk shaped objects are feather fans, then it seems odd that the viewer sees only their prosaic back hand holds rather than their more decorative fronts. It would appear that the intent of the artist is not to display these objects, but to show

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them in use. It is the writer's contention that these disks are hand drums and that they are being used in the performance of a ritual.

Only two of the gorgets with probable frame drum images are complete enough to provide information about the settings in which these instruments are being used (Phillips/Brown 1984: 130, 137). These two gorgets have four of the seven frame drum images and one of these, the most complete (Fig. 7), has three of them. Although each of the gorgets with probable frame drums appears to be unique, it is possible from the fragments to detect a structure common to all of them. Unlike the vessel drum images (Figs. 1-2) where the paired drummers face each other over their drums, all of the drummers in the frame drum images face away from each other with their backs to a central striped pole. Each of these drummers holds the back of what appears to be a single-skinned, hand held, frame drum in his outside hand (that is the figure on the right, facing right, holds his drum in his right hand, etc.).

Another commonality of the two most complete frame drum gorgets (Phillips/Brown 1984: 130, 137) is that, within each, the paired drummers are identical and posed as mirrored images (Fig. 7). This may mean that the drummers are twins or, more intriguingly, it may be an artistic device meant to imply the motion of a single dancer around the striped pole in the center. Indeed, Reilly (2004: 131, Fig. 11) has converted the image on one of these gorgets (Phillips/Brown 1984: 130) into a 3D drawing, flattening the ring around the gorget into a dance circle with the pole in the center and two dancer/drummers on the circle dancing around the pole. Certainly a dancing motion is strongly implied by the fact that all of the drummers have their outside legs raised and bent at the knee with toes pointed upward (Fig. 7).

Both of the most complete frame drum gorgets and a fragment from a third gorget indicate that a striped pole occupies the center of all three gorgets. The three poles are decorated with light and dark stripes and dot in circle motifs, but they are not identical. Although the stripes on all three run in the same diagonal direction, the pattern of light and dark stripes varies as does the exact configuration of the dotted circles.

The most intact of the frame drum gorgets also bears the most complex image of the series (Fig. 7). Unfortunately, the heads and shoulders of the dancing drummers are missing, but the striped pole is intact and it features some surprising details. Earlier it was mentioned that the image on this gorget had three depictions of probable frame drums. Two of these drums are in use by the drummers, but the writer

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contends that the third is shown hanging from the pole at its exact center. Unlike all of the other depictions of frame drums, here the viewer sees the front of the drum displayed with its swastika or swirl cross in circle design. Above the drum on the pole is a raccoon or raccoon skin with a dotted circle on its belly. Below the drum, each broad diagonal stripe on the pole also has a dotted circle in its center.

Membrane Drums, Poles, and Symbolic Locatives

These images of dancers dancing around a pole obviously depict ritual activity. That the dancers appear to be playing hand-held frame drums, instruments historically associated with shamanism (Grim 1983: 33-50; VanPool 2009: 183), suggests that the dancing drummers are shamans. To obtain a clearer understanding of the role and importance of the possible drums portrayed on these gorgets requires breaking down the image seen in Fig. 7 and examining some of its constituent parts, particularly the pole, the raccoon, and the drum.

The striped pole is an obvious symbol for the *axis mundi,* a stand-in for the cosmic tree that connects all the worlds of the multi-layered cosmos. The use of sacred poles in ritual was widespread among tribes of the Eastern Woodlands and Eastern Plains. Examples of ritual pole use from two different linguistic groups will aide the reader's understanding of the Spiroan images. The Dhegihan Siouan speaking Omaha revered and carried with them from camp to camp a sacred pole, which resided in its own lodge within the camp circle. It served as a symbol of unity binding together the Sky people and the Earth people, the two major divisions of the tribe (Fletcher/La Flesche 1992: 217-250). Once a year the Omaha reenacted the charter myth of the sacred pole by cutting a pole in the forest, painting it with red and black stripes, and erecting it in the center of the camp circle. Here it served as the focus of the He'dewachi ceremony in which all the people in the camp danced around it to the accompaniment of drums, rattles and song (*ibid.*: 251-260).

Among the Algonkian speaking Ojibwa, sacred poles were more explicitly tied to shamanism. In the rites of both the *tcisaki* shamans and the *midewiwin* shamans, sacred poles were important fixtures serving as pathways for the *manitouk* (spirits). In the "shaking tent" ritual the *tcisaki* shaman enters a small conjuring lodge with his or her frame drum. From the open top of this lodge, one pole extends above the others serving as the cosmic tree. Through the beating of the drum, the *tcisaki* enters into

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conversation with the *manitouk*. The tent begins to shake when the spirits present themselves. In the presence of the spirits the *tcisaki* becomes an oracle, answering questions from the people gathered outside the tent (Grim 1983: 149-156).

In the Ojibwa *Mide* Society shamans receive their powers more from initiation in the *midewiwin* ceremony rather than by strictly individual encounters with the spirits. In the *midewiwin,* candidates receive instruction in trance techniques, cosmology and the importance of the Mide drum. The long narrow *midewiwin* lodge is oriented to the cardinal directions and reflects Algonkian cosmology with its roof open to the sky and its bare earth floor. Every lodge "[…] has one or more posts that portray the cosmic tree breaking through the many layers of power". The *Mide* drum, symbolic equivalent of the cosmic tree, was located just inside the lodge's eastern entrance (*ibid.*: 130-131).

These ritual examples show both frame drums and vessel drums in association with the sacred pole in a similar manner to the way they are depicted in the images from Spiro under examination here. The pole can be seen as the pathway to spiritual power and the drum as the means by which access to that pathway is achieved. With the drum, the shaman may summon the spirits or he may transport himself into their presence. Another possibility suggested by the presence of the raccoon in Fig. 7 is that the shaman may employ an animal messenger, or even transform himself into such (VanPool 2009: 182).

In the mythology of the Siouan speaking Winnebago, the raccoon is a trickster and a liminal creature at home on the land, in the water and high up in the tops of trees (Dieterle 2005). This ability to traverse the different levels of the cosmos is also seen in the Spiroan shell engravings. In one engraving raccoon images are associated with the underwater panther or *piasa* (Phillips/Brown 1984: 224). In two other images raccoon heads appear on snake bodies (*ibid.*: 240, 241). In contrast to these Beneath World associations, raccoons appear high on the branches of what is most likely one of two depictions of the cosmic tree itself (*ibid.*: 237). Another shell cup bears the images of six raccoons each with either horns or antlers (ibid.: 235). The two dancing drummers in Fig. 7 have raccoon skins hanging from their waist sashes, suggesting an identity with the raccoon on the pole. Perhaps he is their *manitou* guide or tutelary spirit.[3]

3 The raccoon is an important and intriguing character in the Fig. 7 image and cannot be ignored. However, he is an enigmatic figure in Mississippian art and is deserving of much more attention than can be given to him here. It will suffice to say that his presence in this image strengthens the idea that the viewer is witnessing a shamanic ritual in this scene.

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The possible drum hanging from the pole at the center of the image in Fig. 7 completes the tableau of a shamanic shrine and may provide a clue to the ultimate destination of the shaman's spiritual journey. The drumhead bears the image of a swastika or swirl-cross within a circle. This motif is thought to be a symbolic locative associated with the Beneath World (Reilly 2004: 127-131). It is not a common motif in Spiroan iconography, but is very common in the art of the Moundville site in Alabama where it is associated with the images of many beneath world creatures (Lankford 2011b).

Unfortunately it is not possible to see what images decorate the heads of the other frame drum depictions because only their backs are shown. However, three of these drums appear to have petaloid borders (fringed with feathers). This trait is usually associated with a simple cross-in-circle motif. The petaloid cross-in-circle is a locative associated with the Above World. The plain cross-in-circle motif without the petaloid nimbus is associated with the Middle World or Earth Disk (Reilly 2004: 127-131). It is interesting to speculate that drumhead locatives on frame drums may provide a clue to which cosmic realm is being appealed to in the ritual depicted.

A variant of the cross-in-circle motif appears in the vessel drum gorget seen in Fig. 2. Between the entwined band motifs rising from the two vessel drums depicted on this gorget is a disk with a cross-in-circle at its center surrounded with eight spokes connected by lines, giving it a web-like appearance. It is likely that this image is a plan view of the drumheads. If this is the case then it lends support to the idea, stated earlier, that the heads of vessel drums represent the Earth Disk. An early 20th century ethnography of the Yuchi, a tribe from the Southeast, illustrates and describes a ceramic vessel drum with an eight spoke wheel design on its head said to represent the cardinal and inter-cardinal directions of the earth's surface (Speck 2004: 61, Fig. 32).

Perhaps now after examining separately the various elements comprising the image in Fig. 7, it is possible to offer a plausible explanation for what is happening in this scene. It appears that mythic figures who are powerful shamans have come to the sacred pole to contact a Beneath World *manitou*. After constant dancing and drumming (and perhaps with the aide of a powerful hallucinogen [Lankford 2012: 57-60; VanPool 2009: 180-183]), the shamans will assume the form of their tutelary spirit, the raccoon, and enter the Beneath World through the drumhead portal to aquire spiritual power. Of course it isn't possible to determine if this scenario is

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correct, but what seems certain is the importance of drums and drumheads as both symbols of the various levels of the cosmos and as the means by which access to them is made possible.

Conclusion

To fully understand the religious activity reflected in the various Mississippian art styles will require further study. However, the presence of membrane drums in the images from Spiro examined in this paper helps to verify shamanic practice as an important aspect of Mississippian culture. It was a practice that has an important historic legacy as well.

In the 1830s the artist George Catlin sketched a Sioux medicine man named Blue Medicine (McCracken 1959: 57). The drawing (Fig. 8) shows Blue Medicine holding some of his shamanic sacra including his handheld frame drum with its rattle mallet and his deer hoof rattle. The skins of several small animals hang from his drum and from his waist sash hangs the skin of a raccoon looking out at the viewer in a manner similar to the raccoon in Fig. 7. In fact, Blue Medicine looks as if he has just stepped off that gorget from Spiro. Certainly he embodies a shamanic tradition reaching back to Spiro and Cahokia, a shamanic tradition that flourishes among many native peoples today.

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Ethnoarchaeomusicology
Social Reproduction, Music (Sound Production) and Ideology in the Rituals of Alutiiq and Yup'ik Societies

By Jesús Salius Gumà

In this work, Ethnoarchaeomusicology is proposed as an alternative methodological approach to studies centred wholly on discoveries of musical instruments in archaeological contexts of conventional musical archaeology. Ethnoarchaeomusicology will be used to study the role of sound production in historical hunter-gatherer-fisher societies where a wider evidential framework for musical and ceremonial behaviour can be established. Alaskan Alutiiq and Yup'ik societies are examples of human adaptation to an extreme environment and also of the application of strategies to control social and biological reproduction. These strategies were implemented through ceremonies and rituals involving sound production. An effective system for the control of social reproduction permits a society to overcome and adapt to how both favourable and adverse conditions may affect it.

One of the most important ceremonial events in these Alutiiq and Yup'ik societies was the Bladder Festival. A critical review of the ethnological and ethnomusicological information relating to this event has led to an understanding of the importance of sound production in the control of social and human reproduction during this as well other festivals. This research has revealed recurring elements that permit the formulation of various hypotheses which can serve as a guide in the study of Upper Palaeolithic hunter-gatherer-fisher societies. From this understanding, a new approach to ethnoarchaeomusicological research is proposed.

Ethnoarchaeomusicology: Alutiiq and Yup'ik Societies

The methodology of this work borrows from three different disciplines: ethnology, archaeology and musicology. Through hermeneutic ethnohistorical analysis we can form an idea of what some historical hunter-gather-fisher societies were like, and we can find what are properly known as musical elements in the rituals of these societies by musicological criteria. These elements can be combined with archaeological

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methodology in order to seek plausible answers about sound production in prehistoric societies (Salius 2010).

This work is focused in the Alutiiq and Yup'ik Alaskan societies of the 19th and early 20th centuries, also known as the "Eskimo" peoples. The Inupiaq, Yup'ik and Alutiiq were the main hunter-gather-fisher cultures dwelling along the coastal Alaskan region until the 20th century (Fig. 1). These early cultures serve as good examples of the use of social reproduction, ideology and survival strategies through rituals, ceremonies and feasts. In fact, social control strategies have permitted these Alaskan societies to survive in a harsh environment for thousands of years.

The main historical and ethnographic sources that reference the Bladder Festival are accounts from explorers, naturalists, geographers, priests and missionaries, and ethnologists among others, all written during the 19th and 20th centuries (Salius Forthcoming). The twelve most important sources are:

- *Two Voyages to Russian America* (Davydov 1977), chronicling voyages made by Gavriil Ivanovich Davydov, who was a Russian naval officer.
- *Lieutenant Zagoskin's Travels in Russian America, 1842-1844: The First Ethnographic and Geographic Investigations in the Yukon and Kuskokwim Valleys of Alaska* (Zagoskin 1967), made by Lavrenty Alekseyevich Zagoskin who worked for the Russian Navy and served as a naval officer.
- *The Eskimo about Bering Strait* (Nelson 1899) written by Edward William Nelson, who was an American naturalist and ethnologist.
- *Alaskan Voyage, 1881-1883: An Expedition to the Northwest Coast of America* (Jacobsen 1977 [1884]) written by Johan Adrian Jacobsen, who was working for the Königlich Museum in Berlin as an ethnographer.
- *The Eskimo of St. Michael and Vicinity as Related by H. M. W. Edmonds* (Edmonds edited by Dorothy Jean Ray, in 1966) written by Harry M. W. Edmonds, who was collecting artifacts and making ethnographic notes as a member of J. Henry Turner's party in 1890.
- *The Yup'ik Eskimos: As Described in the Travel Journals and Ethnographic Accounts of John and Edith Kilbuck Who Served with the Alaska Mission of the Moravian Church, 1886-1900* (Kilbuck/Kilbuck 1988). John Henry Kilbuck and his wife, Edith (Romig) Kilbuck, were Moravian missionaries in southwestern Alaska.
- *The Dance Festivals of the Alaskan Eskimo* (Hawkes 1914), written by Ernest William Hawkes who was an anthropologist.

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- *Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition* (Rasmussen 1999), and *The Eagle's Gift: Alaskan Eskimo Tales* (Rasmussen 1932), both written by Knud Rasmussen, who was an anthropologist.
- *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States and Alaska vol. 20* (Curtis 1930) written by Edward Sheriff Curtis, who was a photographer of the American west and of Native American peoples.
- *Where the Echo Began: And Other Oral Traditions From Southwestern Alaska Recorded by Hans Himmelheber* (Fienup-Riordan/Himmelherber 2000 [1987]). A book published by Fienup-Riordan that includes different works by Hans Himmelheber, who was a German anthropologist.
- *The Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo* (Lantis 1946), written by Margaret Lantis, who was an American anthropologist specialising in Alaskan societies.

The Alaskan environment was and is harsh, due to its subarctic climate, which means that faunal and floral resources are, and were, limited. Early Alutiiq and Yup'ik societies had a nomadic existence in spring and summer, dwelling in sedentary settlements only in winter (McGhee 1977: 206). During a given year they needed to adopt different strategies to control the growth of population density to survive. The winter season was the time of rituals and ceremonies, because the most "valuable" productive activities, like hunting and fishing, were limited due to harsh weather.

It was between November and March when the most important Alutiiq and Yup'ik festivals, rituals and ceremonies were held, one after the other. The primary winter celebrations described in the literature were:

1. The Bladder Festival
2. The Messenger Feast
3. The Asking Feast
4. Great Feast of the Dead
5. Feast of the Dead

In general, hunter-gather-fisher societies were divided by gender in work, in social roles and in the spaces that they occupied; these celebrations were no exception. In the early Alutiiq and Yup'ik societies the most "valued" productive activity was hunting, carried out by men. Objectively, women were also valuable workers, but

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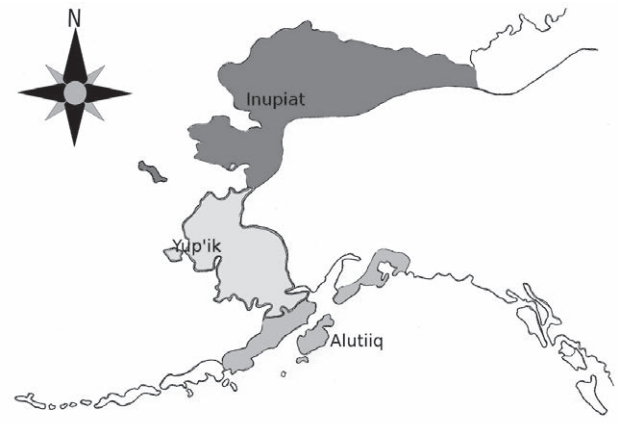

Fig. 1 Map of Alutiiq, Yup'iq and Inupiat regions.

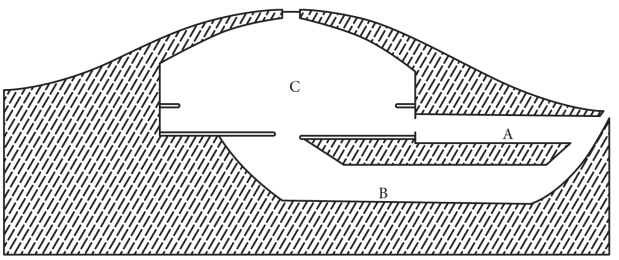

Fig. 2 Image of the interior structure of a Yup'ik qasgiq *based on Nelson's drawing. A) summer entrance way; B) winter entrance way; c) room where men work, and perform collective festivities and ceremonies and C) framework structure.*

Fig. 4 The left side of the image shows the men carrying bladders hanging from their spears. On the right are two men who are making holes in the ice in order to submerge the bladders. This image is part of the decoration of an ivory bow-drill. Collection of Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Reference : E176191-0.

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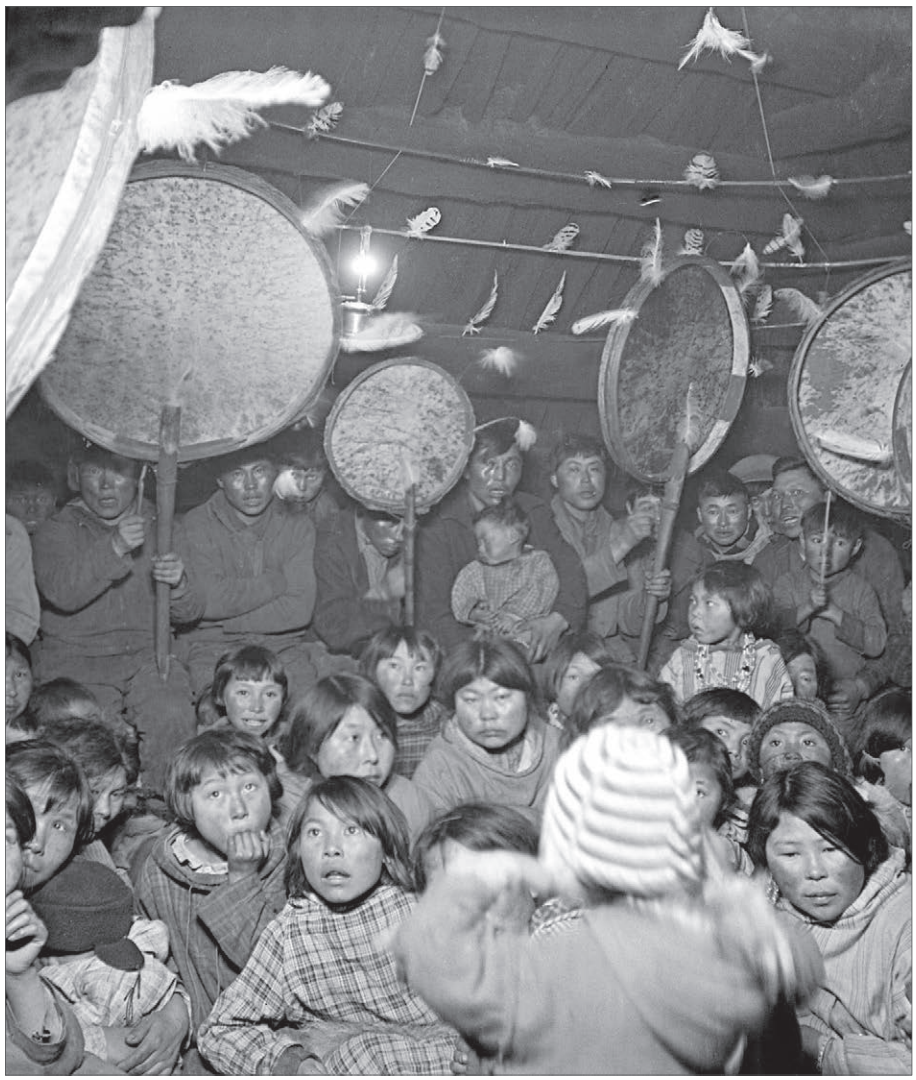

Fig. 4 Image of Yup'ik drums with feathers and paintings (ref. AM HA B07.5.1.A23).

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through a cultural perspective they were less valued members of these societies. This valued or devalued position in the celebrations showed that people's situation in the ritual and ceremonial space and participation in the events was different according to gender and productive capacities.

The *qasgiq*: A Male "Ritual" and "Ceremonial" Space

Around the world, in many early hunter-gatherer-fisher societies we find accounts and archeological remains that help explain the different kinds of social organization and provide evidence of the diverse types of structure of settlements. Some hunter-gatherer-fisher societies had common elements pertaining to social reproduction, sound production and ideology. One of these common elements was the use of communal houses, or men's houses, where ritual and ceremonial events were performed.

Early Alutiiq and Yup'ik settlements were generally organized with groups of small houses for the women and children, located around a special communal building, the *qasgiq*[1] known as the "men's house". This house was the largest building in the settlement because despite its name it offered a place to gather for all the village people and any guests during festival activities. The men's house was the main focus of community life, and it was presumably where the beliefs of these Alutiiq and Yup'ik societies developed (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 114).

The men's house was built from driftwood logs fallen from the trees (typically spruce) with branches that floated down rivers in spring and that were strewn along their banks or carried to sea and scattered along the coast during the following summer.

The usual shape of the men's house was square, could be between five and six metres in height and could have between 40-100 m^2 of floor space, depending of the population settlement. There was a smoke hole in the roof, and around the walls were benches. The floor was made from wood planks and in its center was a hole, which served both as a fireplace and as a winter entrance (Fig. 2).

1 The word *qasgiq* means: communal house, dance hall, men's house or ceremonial house. We can find this term written in many different ways: *keshagem* (Cantwell 1889), *casíne* (Dall 1870), *kassigit* (Jacobsen 1884), *kashim* (Nelson 1899) and (Giffen 1930), *kasgi* (Hawkes 1914), *kazigi* (Lantis 1966), *karigi* (Oswalt 1967; Lutz 1973: 111), *kazhim* (Zagoskin 1967) and (Davydov 1977), *kashigi* (Kilbuck/Kilbuck 1988), *Kassigit* (Jacobsen 1977 [1884]), *qalegi* (Larsen 1950: 8), *kashgee* (Vanstone 1972: 18), kozhim (Von Wrangell 1970) *kashgee* (VanStone 1972: 18), *qasgiq* (Fienup-Riordan 1990) and (Fienup-Riordan 1994), *qaygiq* (Fienup-Riordan 1996), *qasgi* (Fienup-Riordan 1999), *kiiya* (Griffin 2002: 58), *gasgiq* (Barnette 2009).

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The men's house was usually the male work place, the place where unmarried men slept, and the ceremonial and winter festival space. The building was a dark place where all men, young and old, prepared hunting tools, composed songs,[2] designed dances and reinforced the male hierarchy. It was also a space that was largely acoustically dead, since the wooden walls, roof and floor, grass mats, animals skins on the benches, and the large number of people inside permitted virtually no resonance. As a consequence, the men's house was a good place in which to maintain secrecy of sound production along with exclusively male activities.

The Bladder Festival: Social Reproduction, Sound Production and Ideology in the Rituals

One of the most important collective events for the Alutiiq and Yup'ik was the Bladder Festival. This celebration was a winter activity that had an important role for western Alaskan adaptability strategies and social organization. For the societies of this region, hunting was the most valued social activity, and was the exclusive domain of the men, who were in control of this hunting society. The way in which men maintained their position at the top of the social hierarchy was by holding different activities related to hunting every year and more concretely through ritual activities.

Different Eskimo peoples celebrated the Bladder Festival in different months, November, December or January, and they lasted varying durations. Different sources report the festival as lasting from five to ten days (Kilbuck/Kilbuck 1988: 24; Nelson 1899: 380-382; Weyer 1932: 342; Lantis 1966: 51-57; Fienup-Riordan 1994: 268). There was also a period of preparation for the festival, which could start in November (Weyer 1932: 342; Rasmussen 1999 [1927]: 354) depending on the village. During this time all the men and boys more than five years old lived and slept in the men's house, and the women and other children lived in the "family" houses.

Western Alaskan societies believed that showing respect for the faunal environment that supported them was important for good hunting in future seasons. The Bladder Festival was their way of expressing this respect. As in all activities related to hunting, social taboos and beliefs about the avoidance of contact between menstruating or sexually mature women, meant that women were kept at the margins of the festival. The

2 There is only limited historic information available about the nature of the songs sung in the Bladder Festival. Koranda published a transcription of three such songs (Koranda 1968, 27-31).

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Bladder festival was a complex mix of activities. In order to simplify its examination the festival will be divided into three phases: preparation, initiation, and resolution.

Preparation Phase

The preparation phase involved a variety of tasks. There were some differences among villages in the ways in which the Bladder Festival was held, but in general the preparations started in November. During this period the men had to live apart from the women because the latter were regarded as unclean (Weyer 1932: 341; Fienup-Riordan 1994: 268).[3] At this time, the women made new clothing and the men cleaned the *qasgiq* and made wooden dishes or bowls. All of these elements were used at the Bladder Festival and during the following year (Kilbuck/Kilbuck 1988: 25; Hawkes 1914: 26; Lantis 1966: 55). In the evening, in the darkness of the *qasqiq,* the men composed songs about their experiences, designed dances and took purifying sweat baths. The compositions of songs and the design of dances were a male responsibility and a valuable privilege of the men.

Initiation and Transition Phase

According to the early sources (Nelson 1899: 379-393; Hawkes 1914: 26-29), in the Yup'ik region the Bladder Festival was generally held during the "December moon". On an evening day at this time, all the people of the village had a meeting near, or sometimes even on the roof of the men's house, the exact spot depending on the village. People sang a song together while an old man, called the headman, beat a drum. This song was addressed to wild celery *(Angelica archangelica)* that was gathered around the hillsides of the settlement. This sound production activity could be considered a type of "ritual" to people in this society and could act as a social cohesion tool, and a way to dedicate a song to the wild celery, calling it to the harvest.

In fact, the next day four men went out to gather bundles of stalks of the wild celery. In the evening these bundles were taken inside the men's house and laid on the floor, where they were dispersed and separated. When all the stalks were spread out on the floor, all the men in the *qasgiq* took one in his hands and sat in his place, and then all the men sang, asking the stalks to become dry. After some hours, the wild celery stalks dried out due to the heat of the room, and the men then put them into a single large bundle. Again, all these activities were carried out only by men.

At daybreak the next morning, the large single

3 Only menstruating or sexually mature women were excluded from the Bladder Festival.

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bundle of wild celery was opened and divided into smaller bundles that were placed on the floor in front of an oil lamp that was always left burning at the rear of the men's house. At daylight each hunter brought into the *qasgiq* the bladders of animals that they had hunted during the previous year. The bladders were generally inflated and tied in bunches. They came from animals such as caribou, seals, whales, walruses and polar bears. Next, these bunches of bladders were hung up on the wall at the back of the room. After which an offering was made of small pieces of food and a "libation" [4] of water placed in a bowl on the floor in front of the bladders.

As with most things, the specific details of the rituals observed in the Bladder Festival could vary from village to village. In Nelson's 19th-century account (Nelson 1899: 384), when the men had gathered the large bundle of wild celery stalks in the *qasgiq,* they performed an untypical collective "ritual" activity. It consisted of two circles of people formed within the *qasgiq;* an outer circle near the walls, composed only of women, and an inner circle made up only of men. Bladders were hung from the roof, and beneath them young men imitated the movements and sounds of different animals. During this activity, the headmen sang words that were repeated by all, while offerings of food were made to the shades (spirits) of the animals.

On a morning of one of the following days every hunter would mark his bladders with paint made of charcoal derived from celery stalks mixed with oil. In the evening of the same day, small torches were made from celery stalks that burned effectively thanks to their own resinous oil. Afterwards, each young man took a torch and went leaping and shouting around the interior of the men's house, waving the torches around the bladders and the men who were sitting in the room. When the *qasgiq* was full of smoke, this activity ended and the young men left the room through the hole in the centre of the floor. The following day all the men remained in the *qasgiq* while everybody waited for the full moon. During this time it was forbidden to do any work in the settlement. Despite the differences in the details of the rituals in different villages, the activities had the same objective and same core elements: the smoke of the torches used as a purifying element believed to prepare the bladders and men of a ritual to return the souls of hunted animals to their natural environment.

On the first night of the waning moon each man hung his bladders across the back of the men's house, and the following day some men (usually four) went out and made a hole (or holes) in the sea or river ice around the settlement. After this, each hunter ran to the ice hole(s), and dipped the point of

4 The pouring out of such a drink-offering.

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their spears in the sea or river water and returned to the men's house where they moved around the bladders with their spears. When this activity was finished all the hunters sat around the men's house and sang together a welcome song to the guests (from neighboring villages, or more recently arctic explorers), while, outside the men's house, women and children from the settlement performed a dance (not described in detail in the accounts). We can see that there was a gender exclusion in the purifying and most highly honored activities, because the hunters performed them alone in the men's house.

In this phase there were also different dances performed to revere the bladders. These were accompanied by the sound of drums. One example of these activities was a dance that imitated the movements of seals and walruses, which was performed by four men and a maiden (virgin), all from the same family (Nelson 1899: 387). This kind of activity could continue until exhaustion and it was usual for different families to take turns. Important features of this type of performance were that some men who watched the performance were nude, the four male "dancers" were naked to the waist, while the maiden remained fully clothed.

Resolution Phase

In the last phase of the Bladder Festival, on a day at sunrise, every men took his spear, on which bladders were hung, and went out to the hole in the ice (Fig. 3). There each hunter thrust the bladders down one by one through the hole into the water, piercing them with his spear so that they would sink. When all the bladders had been consigned to the water in this way, all the men returned to the settlement. Meanwhile, the old men had brought out from the *qasgiq* the bundle of celery stalks and placed it on the sea or river ice in front of or near the village, where they had earlier built a fire from driftwood. When the men returned all the people joined together around the fire and sang a song. Afterwards, the bundle of celery stalks was placed in the fire, and then the men ran and leapt shouting through the flame. After the men, the women and children also ran into the fire, stomping on and dashing through the embers.

When this activity ended all of the men took a sweat bath in the *qasgiq*. In this way the Bladder Festival ended, but work was still not permitted in the settlement during the next several days (up to about four days).

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Conclusions

Many modern researchers consider in-depth studies comparing historical and archaeological societies to be a good way to arrive at novel inferences and hypotheses serving as methodological tools for cultural study across time (Olsen 1998: 22-31; Mansur *et al.* 2007; Mansur/Piqué 2012: 123-129). I am attempting to do this by focusing on musical aspects of cultures.

Here, a critical study is being undertaken of the ethnological information related to the Alutiiq and Yup'ik collective celebrations. This research has so far led to a better understanding of the importance of sound production in social reproduction through collective ceremonial activities. As a result, the winter festivities and ceremonial celebrations like the Bladder Festival, may be seen to have had two additional important goals: first, to maintain the social devaluation of women that permitted the society to remain under male control; and second, to impose periods where there was a separation of the sexes and consequently a control of sexual relationships.

This social control of sexual relationships during the Bladder Festival period may be seen as a tool to reduce the chances of women becoming pregnant during a critical time of year. This period, which could comprise an important part of the months of November, December or January, was a strategic time because nine months later there was the summer season when the entire family had to work. Spring-to-summer family tasks involved fishing and the hunting of species that disappeared when the bad weather arrived. If many of the women were to give birth in this period, the hunter-gathering-fishing activities would be less productive, a serious problem for survival during the following winter.

In order to achieve this social control, Alutiiq and Yup'ik societies used the *qasgiq,* men's house, which was a special building and the main context where different strategies connected with the gender division, societal beliefs and ideology were represented. All these social elements were linked through specific activities, such as the Bladder Festival, with its diverse elements including sound production, songs, reverential movements or dances, and purifying actions. All of these activities were male tasks that involved a separation of the sexes and a reinforcement of the lower social status of women.

Although the Bladder Festival had a close relationship with the hunting of animals for their meat, the *qasgiq* was not usually used for ordinary cooking

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activities. This was also common in other early hunter-gatherer-fisher societies such as for example the *Yamana* or *Selknam* people, (Mansur *et al.* 2007). Therefore, the finding of a space like the men's house in the Alaskan, or other prehistoric settlements could be a first step towards obtaining archaeological evidence for gender division, festivities, ceremonies, rituals and sound production.

In reference to sound production, it is important to observe that songs, "dances" and drums were elements connected to the festivals and rituals in the western Alaskan societies. Some of these kinds of sound production were perishable because when people died, their songs and dances disappeared with them. Even elements of the drums, such as wood, skin or other perishable materials used for membranes also disappeared over time. A lack of physical evidence for sound making leads us to seek new methodologies and associated techniques for discovering what must surely have been there.

One way to find alternative evidence for sound production could be to seek out other connected features within festive and ceremonial contexts. Accordingly, we must consider the presence of the different paints, specific materials linked with drums and the wild celery as some elements present in the Bladder Festival ritual activities, gathered from the context of the natural surroundings. Moreover, we could introduce a new methodological step, focusing on specific remains in the soil we can localize their possible ceremonial contexts. These remains could show us specific festive and ceremonial spaces or the refuse associated with the events and the activities involved. This evidence could contribute to providing information about important differences that existed between domestic and ceremonial spaces. Analysis of the, paints, animal and plant remains could also give information about when rituals were carried out.

As mentioned earlier, pigments were used to decorate inflated bladders, but these pigments also served to decorate other ritual elements, such as: bowls and plates cut by men during the preparation phase (Davydov 1977: 108, 187; Zagoskin 1967: 122; Curtis 1930: 59; Lantis 1946: 182; Fienup-Riordan/Himmelheber 2000 [1987]: 120-121); the naked bodies or faces of men in some ceremonial activities (Nelson 1899: 383; Jacobsen 1977 [1884]: 149; Fienup-Riordan/Himmelheber 2000 [1987]: 120); drums.[5] Obviously, pigments were heavily used in many of the activities of the Bladder Festival. The colors that have been described in the

5 Himmelheber explains that the pigment used in the decoration on the drums, as well on the bowls, was composed of mineral pigments, nasal blood and urine from the same craftsman. The practice of using nasal blood in the paintings is also referenced by Holmberg.

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sources are black,[6] red (Lantis 1946: 182) and white (Davydov 1977: 108-111; Nelson 1899: 383, 393; Fienup-Riordan/Himmelheber 2000 [1987]: 120), and the last two have a mineral origin.[7] In the context of the Bladder Festival the only source that describes the brushes used is Himmelheber (1993: 16), who explains that these tools were made from animal hair and tied around a little stick (Fienup-Riordan/Himmelheber 2000 [1987]: 120). Specific Ethnoarchaeological investigations show that the detection and analysis of pigments in ceremonial contexts of hunter-gatherer societies is possible (Mansur/Piqué 2012: 123-129).

Feathers appear rarely in the descriptions of the Bladder Festival. There are only five sources that clearly reference this element. One of the descriptions references the use of eagle feathers as ornaments (Davydov 1977: 107). Another source describes a type of activity that the men performed during the Bladder Festival, which consisted of a feathered dart iron (Jacobsen 1977 [1884]: 149). There is also the use of wild goose or seagull feathers inserted into wooden figures used in a ceremonial context (Nelson 1899: 382, 385-386). Himmelheber describes an activity involving a lamp hung from the ceiling. This light was spherical, made of circular frames of wood, which contained a small lamp decorated with feathers and herbs[8] (Fienup-Riordan/Himmelheber 2000 [1987]: 126). The last source is a picture that shows how the feathers were used to decorate the ceiling and walls of the *qasgiq* during festivals and celebrations.[9] This image, also shows how the drums had several feathers inserted around the frame and in the handle (see Fig. 4). The use of feathers from different birds in various activities and elements of the Bladder Festival can be detected through the remains of this animal bones, followed by a Use-wear analysis to check for the removal of feathers. Two examples of this type of study are the works conducted by Douglas and Waldo in an historical settlement (Ubelaker/Wedel 1975) and by Peresani *et al.* in the archaeological investigation in a prehistoric context (Peresani *et al.* 2011).

Regarding the burning of wild celery *(Angelica archangelica)*, in some activities of the Bladder Festival, it is interesting to note that using different analysis and techniques we could detect the remains of these vegetal plants in the sediments in an archaeological context. The micromorphology of the soil (Lozano *et al.* 1995: 145-155), organic

6 Himmelheber explains that the composition of the black pigment was composed of carbon mixed with urine and blood of seal.

7 Women could not wear or use the scarce, almost sacred blue paint (vivianite) but could apply paint made of ocher or soot to clothing, fancy bags, and ornaments. (Lantis 1946: 245).

8 These types of lamps can be seen in some of the small *qasgiq* models, which are called *qilaamruyaak* and whose images have been included in several publications.

9 Image reference: Martin Family Collection; Anchorage Museum, B2007.005.1.A23.

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chemistry with the analysis of fatty acids (March *et al.* 2008: 34-36), and the presence of phytoliths in the soil sediments can reveal this (Zurro 2006; Zurro *et al.* 2009). All of these techniques are usually used in prehistoric archeology and can confirm the presence of remains of this plant in a specific area, and including whether it had been burned or not. If the analysis is implemented on a spatial level we could see exactly where the greatest accumulations of residues of this plant remain and locate the specific site where it was deposited or where it was burned.

As a final conclusion, the historical record shows that collective ceremonies, men's work, sound production and dance were all held in the same building in both Alutiiq and Yup'ik societies, and this circumstance could also be a good basis for hypotheses to be applied to a study of the Upper Palaeolithic settlements.

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Sound and Ritual in Levantine Art
A Preliminary Study

By Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Carlos García Benito

Acoustic experiments performed with different types of sounds in Valltorta Gorge indicate that the places with more painted motifs have better acoustics than those with fewer of them. There also appear to be clear acoustic differences between the decorated areas and the adjacent sectors of the gorge where no prehistoric rock art is found. The positive results obtained in the tests suggest that acoustics may have been a key factor in the choice of sites at which to produce Levantine rock art in Spain. We propose that there is a high probability that music—vocal or instrumental—was used at the Valltorta rock art sites. The acoustic properties of the sites would have enhanced the music produced through reverberation and echoes, thus increasing the perceptual impact among those experiencing it. In this article we distinguish between outward and inward signification of acoustics, differentiating between shallow inward signification and deep inward signification.

Interest in archaeoacoustics is not new in archaeology, but it has certainly enjoyed much greater international attention in recent years. In the field of rock art, the work of Abbé André Glory (1906-1966) was indeed pioneering in indicating the importance of sound in decorated caves dated to the Upper Palaeolithic, highlighting the presence of lithophones in them (Glory 1964; 1965; Glory *et al.* 1965). Almost two decades after Glory's death, after attending Iégor Reznikoff's university courses on Art and Medieval Music and Sacred Songs, the Palaeolithic specialist Michel Dauvois suggested he check the acoustics of the Upper Palaeolithic decorated caves (Reznikoff, personal communication 2013). This resulted in a series of tests in the caves of Niaux, Fontanet and Portel undertaken in 1983 (Reznikoff/Dauvois 1988). They later continued separately testing other cave and open-air sites (Dauvois 2005; Reznikoff 2006). In their work they have repeatedly demonstrated that acoustics is a key factor in the selection of areas to be decorated.

Dauvois and Reznikoff's work immediately found an audience in English-speaking academia (Scarre 1989; Waller 1993a; 1993b). That interest soon resulted in

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research into the possible link between rock art and acoustics in other periods and locations, such as North America (Waller 2002; Waller/Arsenault 2008). These studies not only focused on reverberation and tonality, but also on echoing and the iconography of rock art. This research has been pioneered by Steve Waller, who believes in the existence of universals that explain the importance of acoustics as a means of facilitating the connection between human and spiritual beings and/or ancestors (Waller 2002). In the last ten years many other archaeologists have paid attention to this field of study, both regarding rock art (Boivin *et al.* 2007; Kleinitz 2008; Mazel 2011; Rifkin 2009) and megalithic art and architecture (Till 2009; Watson 2006). There has also been a series of novel experimental studies on prehistoric instruments (Buisson/Dartiguepeyrou 1996; Conard *et al.* 2009; Dauvois 1999; 2005).

Among the pioneering studies of musical instruments on the Iberian Peninsula we can highlight that of Barandiarán (1971) and Blázquez (1983), who began an ongoing line of research (García Benito/Jiménez Pasalodos 2011; Jiménez Pasalodos 2012a; Martí Oliver *et al.* 2001; Matamoros Anglès *et al.* 2011; Mederos Martín 1996; Menéndez/García 1998; Moreno-García 2005; Salius i Guma 2009). The possible representation of instruments has also been mentioned in Levantine rock art. Some scholars have identified idiophones at the rock art sites of El Ciervo (Dos Aguas, Valencia) and El Pajarejo (Albarracín, Teruel) (Alonso Tejada/Grimal 1995: 14-15) and a lyre at El Cerrao (Obón, Teruel) (Ariño Verdú *et al.* 1982). Meanwhile, a scene at Muriecho (Colungo, Huesca) has been interpreted as people playing aerophones next to others clapping and dancing (Baldellou Martínez *et al.* 2000). Likewise, dancers are seen at the Barranco de los Grajos I site (Cieza, Murcia) (Beltrán Martínez 1969: 48, passim) and at La Roca de los Moros (El Cogul, Lérida) (Almagro Basch 1952). Finally, the research into archaeoacoustics that began with Glory's comments on the lithophones of the Cave of Nerja (Málaga) (Glory *et al.* 1965: CLXVIII) was further explored by Lya Dams (1984, 1985). More recently research has expanded to the acoustics of cave art (Picó *et al.* 2006), rock gongs (Bastos 2010) and open-air rock art paintings (Díaz-Andreu/García Benito 2012; Díaz-Andreu *et al.,* forthcoming 2014; García Benito/Jiménez Pasalodos 2012; García Benito/Sebastián López, forthcoming; Jiménez Pasalodos 2012b). The aim of this article is to describe one of the aforementioned research projects on the relationship between acoustics and rock art, using the Valltorta Gorge as a case study with the purpose of further exploring the implications of the positive results obtained.

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Valltorta Gorge: Landscape, Levantine Art and Archaeological Context

Valltorta Gorge is in the province of Castellón, in the far north of the Valencian Country. It is situated about forty kilometres from the coast, between the high mountains of the Maestrazgo area and the coastal plain. The gorge cuts through an area of low hills for a distance of some ten kilometres, although the rock art sites are concentrated in the middle six kilometres (Fig. 1). There are other rock art sites in the neighbouring area, including a couple in the Barranco Fondo immediately to the west, leading towards the site of Centelles. From there, leading north, the sites by the Rambla Carbonera are located on the route to the mountain peaks of the Maestrazgo area. The paintings in Valltorta Gorge were first recognised as prehistoric in 1916. They immediately attracted a great deal of attention from scholars both in Madrid and Barcelona (for its complex research history see Díaz-Andreu 2012: 26-36). After this initial impetus, attention moved elsewhere from the 1930s until the late 1970s. This hiatus was ended with the work undertaken by Viñas (1982) and later the stimulus created by UNESCO's inclusion of the sites in the Rock Art of the Mediterranean Basin on the Iberian Peninsula World Heritage Site designation (UNESCO). The opening of Valltorta Archaeological Park and its museum in 2000 (Martínez Valle 2000) has further facilitated research, as shown by the last two major publications produced on the area (Guillem Calatayud *et al.* 2011; Viñas Vallverdú/Morote Barberá 2011).

There are 17 known Levantine art sites at Valltorta with published locations (Viñas Vallverdú/Morote Barberá 2011). Although there are apparently more, the whereabouts of the new sites have not been published and, in fact, the few remains of paint at them make it extremely difficult to ascertain the chronology of many of the non-historical motifs (Guillem Calatayud *et al.* 2011). All the authors agree that the paintings show several phases and styles, but how these are defined is again a matter of debate. In this field we should highlight the efforts of Inés Domingo Sanz and others from the team based in Valencia at the time the work was being undertaken (Domingo Sanz 2006; 2008; Domingo Sanz *et al.* 2007). The classification goes beyond Obermaier's three basic types (Beltrán Martínez 1982: 38-40; Obermaier/Wernert 1919: 94-95), but has recently been questioned by Viñas Vallverdú and Morote Barberá (2011: 61-72).

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Fig. 1 Panoramic view of Valltorta Gorge (Castellon, Spain).

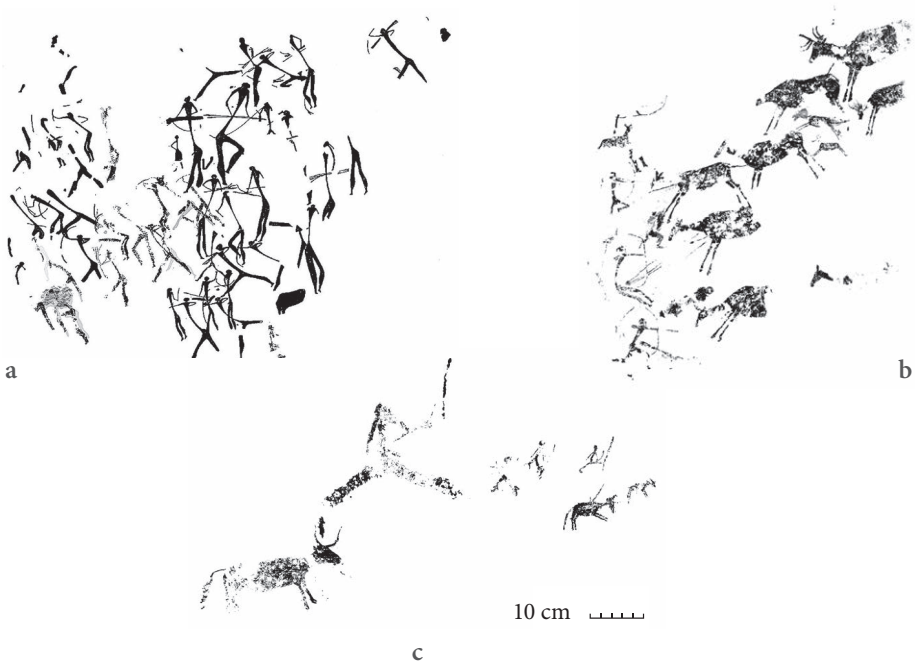

Fig. 2 Selection of Levantine rock art motifs found at Valltorta. a) Civil; b) Cavalls; c) Saltadora (after Domingo Sanz 2005).

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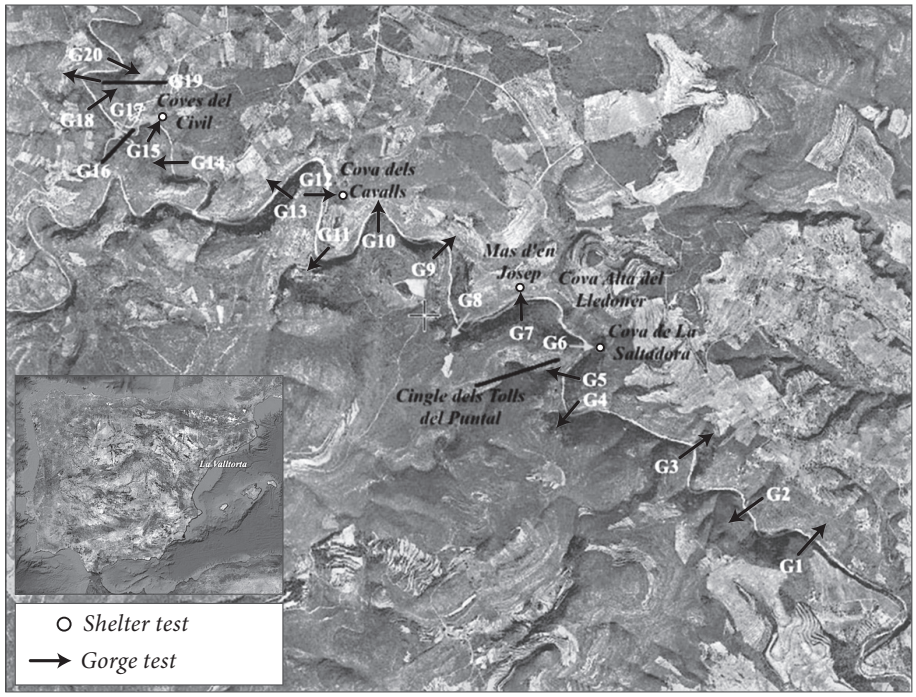

Fig. 3 Map of Valltorta Gorge with test locations.

Levantine rock art predominantly uses red paint in a large variety of shades and Valltorta is exceptional for the presence of the white used as an outline in a few figures. These are mainly zoomorphs and anthropomorphs, the latter being either on their own or combined to form scenes. There is a high percentage of hunts depicting individuals armed with bows and with a diverse range of hairstyles, some adorned with feathers and/or headbands. Many examples of hunts are found, with a major scene located at Cavalls. A rare scene at Civil, but one in which many individuals are painted, is that of two groups of people, many of them archers, who seem to be walking towards each other. Another scene with a group of people walking, but in this case seemingly including children, is found at the nearby site of Centelles. If the figures with breasts and/or skirts represent women and the rest are men, the latter

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clearly predominate. The most commonly represented animals are deer (female and male), mountain goats and cattle. Animals are sometimes painted with arrows stuck in their bellies, necks or backs. Previous research undertaken by one of the authors resulted in a distinction between mega-sites (that is, those with a larger number of motifs and greater use over time, based on the number of styles in them) and minor sites[1] (Díaz-Andreu 2011). It is important to note that the distribution of the mega-sites in the gorge appears to be significant, as, walking upstream, Saltadora is at the beginning of the gorge, Cavalls in the middle and Civil (also known as Ribasals) at the very end (Fig. 2).

The rock art sites of Valltorta have no stratigraphy in the immediate area of the panels, which seems to rule out their use as living areas. There have been several publications on the archaeological sites found in Valltorta. The first was by the Catalan team that undertook research in the area, including some excavations, in the 1910s, on which an article of several pages was published covering sites dated in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic (Pallarés 1915-20). Years after, the material gathered on the plain above the gorge was dated to the Mesolithic (Maluquer de Motes 1939) and four decades later some sites dated to the early Neolithic were added (Val 1977). Most recent studies include a few excavations and new surveys. They have added to the number of known sites and indicate that the list now covers the whole chronology from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age and beyond (Guillem Calatayud *et al.* 2011: 211-222).

We should add that whatever their dating none of the sites surveyed or excavated in the Valltorta area have provided any remains interpreted as belonging to musical instruments. However, the very fragile nature of many of these objects, as well as the possibility of using one's own body to produce music, for example by clapping and singing, means that we cannot identify a lack of physical remains with indifference to this type of cultural production. The types of instruments known for the period in which Levantine paintings were produced are bullroarers, rasps, pipes and flutes, phalangeal whistles, other bone instruments, percussive instruments and lithophones (Morley 2003; 2005). Out of all these, only flutes have been published in an extensive area of approximately 300 km around Valltorta Gorge. They are dated to the Mesolithic/Neolithic period: pan flutes in the Caves of Or and Sarsa, and other possible flutes in the Neolithic caves of Àguila and Aranyes del Carabassí, all of which are to the south. Other flutes have been found at Chaves

1 The varied nature of the minor sites, with larger sites like Mas d'en Josep, may make it necessary to further refine the category of minor groups in the future.

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to the north and also at the site of Vaquera to the west (Martí Oliver *et al.* 2001: 61-62, Fig. 10). Although it is still to be published, we would like to add a ceramic whistle found in the Cave of Or to the list of prehistoric instruments known in the extensive area around Valltorta (Gemma Vizcaino, personal communication 2011).

The Acoustics in Valltorta Gorge: Methodology and Fieldwork

In July 2011 the authors of this article an expert in prehistoric rock art (Díaz-Andreu) and a specialist in prehistoric music (García Benito) – decided to join forces on a project to assess the acoustics of Valltorta Gorge and its relationship with rock art. A few casual comments had been made about how good the acoustics were in the gorge from the earliest publications (Arco 1917) (see for later comments Cruz Berrocal 2005: 362; Díaz-Andreu/García Benito 2012: 3596), but this aspect had never been properly investigated, either at Valltorta or at any of the other rock art areas with Levantine art.

Our experiment was divided into three phases: fieldwork, desk analysis of the results obtained in the field and, finally, interpretation. For the fieldwork phase we devised a methodology based on the experience of previous researchers (Boivin *et al.* 2007; Kleinitz 2008; Reznikoff/Dauvois 1988; Rifkin 2009; Waller 1993a; 1993b; see also Mazel 2011). We decided to focus on reverberation and echoes. For the former we quantified results as no reverberation (represented by 0 in the tables produced), short and soft reverberation (1), and long and hard reverberation (2); for the latter we recorded the number of echoes, as well as their direction (Tabs. 1-2). Different types of sound were tested in each location: repeated clapping; two whistles with frequencies of C7/C#7 and G7/G#7 (in Scientific pitch notation) played together; the G7/G#7 whistle played at intervals; male and female voices together using the "a" sound (as in mat) (the pitch was not controlled); a solo male voice and a solo female voice. We recorded the sounds with an affordable M-AUDIO MicroTrak II digital recorder and comments on the results were noted in situ in a purpose-built acoustics recording form (Díaz-Andreu/García Benito 2012: Fig. 5). During the desk top analysis we first viewed the field results using a series of spectrograms obtained with Sonic Visualiser, free software developed at the Centre for Digital Music at Queen Mary, University of London. The results were then noted in a database (Díaz-Andreu/García Benito 2012: 3593).

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Work in the field was devised following two procedures or sub-phases. The first looked at the acoustics experienced at the sites themselves and the second assessed the auditory properties of the bottom of the gorge. In the first sub-phase of the fieldwork, in order to select the sites to be tested, we took into account the division between mega-sites (Civil, Cavalls and Saltadora) and minor sites (all those remaining). We decided to test the acoustics of all three mega-sites, subdividing Saltadora into its northern and southern sections, and three minor sites, Lledoner, Mas d'en Josep and Tolls del Puntal. We ran two series of tests at all the selected rock art sites, the first facing the painted panel and the second with our backs to it, i.e. facing the gorge. In the second sub-phase of the fieldwork we chose twenty test locations at varied intervals less than one kilometre apart. Of the twenty, the first four were in the area downstream from the painted area; twelve were in the decorated section of the gorge, and the remaining four in the area upstream from the painted area. Of the twelve location points in the painted area, only six were in front of rock art sites, while the other six were in areas without known rock art sites. In each of the test locations we assessed the sound while facing the sites and in the test locations without known rock art sites used as control points we undertook the trials facing the side of the gorge from which we thought the best results would be obtained (Fig. 3).

Analysis of Fieldwork Results

The results of the tests obtained in the first sub-phase of the fieldwork, those undertaken at the sites themselves, indicate that reverberation is generally better than echoes. In the tests made facing the panel, reverberation was strong at all the minor sites, but only strong among the mega sites at Saltadora North and Cavalls. The poorest results were obtained at Civil (Tab. 1a). Contrasting with these results, echoes were almost completely absent at the minor sites, with the exception of Lledoner, where clapping obtained positive results. Regarding Mas d'en Josep, however, we should note that although in the test undertaken there in July 2011 no echoes were heard, a later visit with Steve Waller in November 2012 contradicted those results. The recording form filled in on our first visit mentions a relatively strong wind and explains that this factor negatively influenced the results then noted[2] (Tab. 1). Poor

2 This leads us to believe that ideally tests should be repeated under different weather conditions in order to minimise the effect of weather. On the basis of the experience obtained by many tests we have concluded that tests should not be conducted when winds are stronger than 5-10 km/h, as the results are then not fully reliable.

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a

Reverberation (towards Shelter)	Mega-sites				Minor-sites		
	Saltadora (S)	Saltadora (N)	Cavalls	Civil	Lledoner	Mas d'en Josep	Tolls del Puntal
Clapping	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
Both whistles	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
One intermittent whistle	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
Voices	1	2	2	1	2	2	2
Male Voice	1	2	2	1	2	2	2
Female Voice	1	2	2	1	2	2	2

b

Echo (towards Shelter)	Mega-sites				Minor-sites		
	Saltadora (S)	Saltadora (N)	Cavalls	Civil	Lledoner	Mas d'en Josep	Tolls del Puntal
Clapping	2	3	0	0	3	0	0
Both whistles	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
One intermittent whistle	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
Voices	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Male Voice	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Female Voice	0	0	1	1	0	0	0

c

Reverberation (towards Gorge)	Mega-sites				Minor-sites		
	Saltadora (S)	Saltadora (N)	Cavalls	Civil	Lledoner	Mas d'en Josep	Tolls del Puntal
Clapping	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Both whistles	2	2	2	2	2	1	2
One intermittent whistle	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Voices	1	2	2	1	2	1	2
Male Voice	2	2	2	2	2	1	2
Female Voice	1	2	1	2	2	1	2

d

Echo (towards Gorge)	Mega-sites				Minor-sites		
	Saltadora (S)	Saltadora (N)*1	Cavalls*2	Civil*3	Lledoner	Mas d'en Josep	Tolls del Puntal
Clapping	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
Both whistles	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
One intermittent whistle	0	2	1	0	1	0	0
Voices	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Male Voice	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
Female Voice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

*Tab. 1 Results of acoustic tests made at rock art sites. a, c) 1 = short and soft reverberation (1 sec. or less), 2 = long and hard reverberation (more than 1 sec.). d) *1 The echo comes from the left. *2 The eco produces an effect stereo. *3 The echo comes from the right.*

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Reverberation (from Gorge)	V1*1	V2	V3*2	V4	V5- Matamoros	V6- Saltadora	V7-Mas d'en Josep	V8*3	V9	V10	V11*4	V12- Cavalls	V13	V14	V15- Civil	V16- Civil II*4	V17	V18	V19	V20
Clapping	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Both whistles	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
One intermittent whistle	1	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Voices	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Male Voice	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Female Voice	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0

a

Echo (from Gorge)	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5- Matamoros	V6- Saltadora	V7-Mas d'en Josep	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12- Cavalls	V13	V14	V15- Civil	V16- Civil II	V17	V18	V19	V20
Clapping	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Both whistles	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
One intermittent whistle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Voices	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Male Voice	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Female Voice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

b

*Tab. 2 Results of the acoustic tests undertaken in Valltorta Gorge. a) 1 = short and soft reverberation (1 sec. or less), 2: long and hard reverberation (more than 1 sec.). *1 Sound is transmitted upwards the Gorge. *2 Sound is transmitted upwards the Gorge with Clapping and downwars with Male voice. *3 Strange place. Not well defined echo or reverberation. *4 Sound is transmitted upwards the Gorge with Whistle and Male voice.*

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results were also recorded at Saltadora North and South. Cavalls gave the best results with intermittent whistles and Civil with voices (Díaz-Andreu/García Benito 2012: 3593-3594).

The series of tests facing the gorge confirmed the presence of reverberation, although not as strongly as in those cases above. The intermittent whistle gave strong results in all cases, followed by both whistles and the male voice (Tab. 1b). Echoes were more abundant at the mega-sites, especially Cavalls and Saltadora North. Generally speaking, the intermittent whistle followed by the male voice gave the best results. It may be significant that at Saltadora North echoes came downstream, at Cavalls they were in stereo and at Civil they came from upstream (Tab. 1d) (Díaz-Andreu/García Benito 2012: 3593-3594).

The second sub-phase of the fieldwork consisted of tests made at the bottom of the gorge. As explained above, test locations were selected which, when walking upstream, were situated before (V1-V4) and after (V17-V20) the decorated area. Whereas reverberation was present at the first of the test locations, there was none at the last four, that is the results for reverberation were inconclusive in the non-decorated area of the stream. However, differences appear if we limit our analysis to positive results for strong reverberation: this was only present in the decorated area, with particularly good results at Saltadora and Cavalls, followed by the Matamoros Ravine, Civil and one control test at V14. In the decorated area there was a clear contrast between the results obtained from areas in front of rock art sites and from the control test locations, although there were exceptions, such as V14. Generally speaking, all types of sound produced similar results, with slightly better ones in the case of the intermittent whistle and the male voice. In contrast, clapping resulted in little or no reverberation (Díaz-Andreu/García Benito 2012: 3594-3596).

The contrast between the non-decorated and decorated sections of the gorge tested was quite clear in terms of echo, as none was found either downstream or upstream. The best results were obtained in the areas in front of the mega-sites, especially Cavalls, followed by Civil II and Saltadora. Mas d'en Josep also gave good results. In terms of the type of sound made, clapping gave the best results, followed by whistles and voices, especially the male voice (Tab. 2b) (Díaz-Andreu/García Benito 2012: 3594-3596).

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An Outward Interpretation of the Results

Following the philosopher of art Willard Quine (1960), the anthropologist and rock art expert Robert Layton explains that there are two ways of interpreting rock art motifs. The first is outward, referring to the world of perceived experience, and the second is inward, relating to the world of culturally-constructed meanings held by the individuals and communities that produced the art. The latter is the one that provides its signification (that is, its cultural meaning) (Layton 2001: 315).[3] He proposes that it is relatively easy to access the former. If we follow Lewis-Williams' arguments elsewhere, we could argue that the neuropsychology of perception has not changed since the appearance of anatomically modern humans, who produced most of the known rock art (Lewis-Williams 1991), including of course that documented at Valltorta. It is thus easy to describe a panel of Levantine art at Tolls Alts as a hunt of, for example, two archers and a wounded deer (Viñas Vallverdú 1982: 124) and to study the composition and species used in Levantine art, to use only two examples (Domingo Sanz *et al.* 2003; Grimal *et al.* 2003). In the case discussed in this article we are not dealing with the iconography of art motifs, as were Quine (1960) and Layton (1995; 2001), but we argue that the distinction between outward and inward signification is equally valid for other types of cultural forms and practices. Therefore, in this section and the next we will treat acoustics according to this distinction. However, we would also like to propose that the inward level may be subdivided into shallow and deep inward signification.

Regarding outward interpretation, our experience allows us to contend that it is easy to experience the acoustics of many rock art sites, because, as Reznikoff pointed out, in the case of Palaeolithic cave art, the caves themselves are musical instruments. In order to study the hypothesis of intentional positioning of paintings in areas with the best acoustics he analysed whether the sections of the caves where the paintings were made had better acoustics than those where there were no paintings. He argued that that if the results were positive, this would demonstrate that acoustics were indeed sought by prehistoric peoples. He and Dauvois demonstrated this at Niaux and Portel, although the results at Fontanet were inconclusive (Reznikoff/Dauvois 1988). Reznikoff's earlier enthusiasm was replaced a few years later by a more cautious tone. He acknowledged (Reznikoff 2006: 78) that direct evidence of a conscious use of acoustics could only

3 Similarly, but in a less sophisticated fashion, Whitley (1994) distinguishes between a more literal and a more metaphorical reading of rock art.

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be obtained by: written records from the time; marked signs or ornaments that can be proved to relate directly to the reverberation of the space considered or at least to some parts of it; or (for man-made spaces) special architectural features that are obviously acoustical. In his opinion, in the case of prehistoric rock art the only possible evidence is the second type. Mazel provides us with an example of an interpretation of the importance of acoustics for rock art where he has written records from the time (Mazel 2011).

As in the case of Upper Palaeolithic art, the excellent acoustics of Valltorta Gorge are as obvious to the human senses today as they were in the past. In addition to our own experience in the field and the comments published about Valltorta (Arco 1917; Viñas Vallverdú/Morote Barberá 2011), we have been told of people who still go to the gorge today to play instruments just for the pleasure of experiencing the way the sound is amplified (Francesc Bellmunt, personal communication). Anecdotally, several locals have also explained to us what a terrifying experience it is to be in the gorge during a thunder storm. These acoustic experiences, which we have systematised in our tests, create an outward interpretation of the connection between rock art and the acoustic properties of Valltorta Gorge.

The results of the acoustic tests undertaken at Valltorta gorge allow us to conclude that acoustics played a role in the location of rock art. This is shown firstly by the better results obtained in the decorated sector of the gorge compared to those from the undecorated sectors down- and upstream. Secondly, the better results obtained at mega-sites compared to the minor sites point to the same conclusion. Our trials strongly indicate that there was a selection of sites at which to locate the rock art panels, in order to take advantage of the acoustic properties of Valltorta Gorge, and that the category of the rock art site depended on this selection. The results of the different types of sound further suggest that it is highly likely that both vocal and instrumental music would have been produced in the painted shelters. Vocal music would have been better heard when produced by men and wind instruments would have provided the best auditory perception, followed by percussion instruments (Díaz-Andreu/García Benito 2012: 3596-3597). Finally, the contrast between the results obtained at the mega and minor sites indicates that the former had the best conditions for producing sounds facing the gorge. Percussion could be used bi-directionally (from the gorge to the site and vice-versa), whereas voices were best only when facing away from the site towards the gorge. In contrast, the results at the

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minor sites were slightly better with the person facing the panel for the production of reverberating sounds, which perhaps indicates a more intimate use of space.

Sound and Ritual in Levantine Art at Valltorta Gorge? Distinguishing between Shallow and Deep Inward Signification

Shallow Inward Signification

In the previous section we proposed that archaeologists find it relatively easy to infer outward signification of cultural practices, that is in an iconographic study the recognition of a deer, or in a landscape study a good level of acoustics. This is because, as explained above, it relates to a world of shared experience common to all anatomically modern humans (see Lewis-Williams 1991). In contrasting to this, Layton suggests that it is much more difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at a correct inward signification without access to the cultural and social conventions in which the cultural practice was created. However, we would like to argue that there are two levels of inward signification, shallow and deep inward signification, and that Layton's definition would better fit the latter (see above in the previous section and below) (Layton 2001: 315). We propose that there is room for an intermediary signification between outward and deep inward signification that should be considered. By shallow inward signification we mean that there is a signification that does not belong to the perceived experience and that, although it is cultural, it is approachable even without knowledge of the world of the culturally-constructed meanings of the individual and community that produced the art, because it is shared by all pre-industrial communities. In our case, the signification we identify as shallow goes beyond the acknowledgement that the acoustics are excellent at Valltorta and that the selection of shelters for painting related to the good acoustics of the place (outward signification). Shallow signification in the acoustics of Valltorta Gorge is the consideration of the Valltorta landscape as a holy space.

The understanding of rock art spaces (and of musical instruments) as ritual is not new. From the early days of prehistoric art studies, scholars used ethnographic analogy to interpret rock art as a proof of ritual practices. Reinach explained that art had appeared in the Upper Palaeolithic as a consequence of the belief in magic. He reached this conclusion on the basis of the information about the beliefs of the Australian ethnography that had just been published (Grosse 1902; Reinach

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1903: 261-266; Spencer/Gillen 1912 [1903]: Vol. I), whereas Breuil and Cartailhac mentioned the ethnographic information known at the time from North America and South Africa (for a discussion on some of the issues related to this see Palacio Pérez 2010). As the dating of Levantine rock art in the first decades of its discovery was thought to be Palaeolithic, the same ideas maintained for Franco-Cantabrian cave art were considered valid for its interpretation. Cabré saw in it proof of totemism (Cabré 1915: 124), but showed some inconsistency years later when, referring to Valltorta, he considered it had an "exclusively magic" aim (Cabré 1925: 205). On their part, in a book also dealing with the rock art of Valltorta Gorge, in a chapter on the "psychological signification of rock art", Obermaier and Wernert (1919: Chapter 5) described it as magic and suggested that perhaps the artists had a religious status. They considered that the magical interpretation was so obvious that, in their words, "we do not even need to look for the support of similar ethnographic elements"[4] (*ibid*.: 127). This certainty came from iconographical elements such as the detailed reproduction of ornaments held by human figures *(ibid*.: 128). The only one to propose a more profane explanation for the art was Eduardo Hernández Pacheco (1917), who deemed the scenes as commemorative. However, given Obermaier's influence on the following generations of professional archaeologists (Díaz-Andreu/Cortadella 2006), the hypothesis of the religious meaning of rock art became accepted and was uncritically repeated by successive generations of scholars (Almagro/García y Bellido 1946: for example 66, 67, 72; Beltrán Martínez 1968: 54-55; Hernández Pérez *et al.* 1998; Hernández Pérez/Martí 2000-2001: 241; Moure Romanillo 1999; Pericot 1950: 36; Ripoll Perelló 1968).

As in the case of rock art, since the time of the pioneers, the production of music has been seen as a religious practice. Arthur Bernard Cook[5] (1868-1952) identified as a bullroarer an Upper Palaeolithic object found at Saint-Marcel (France) that Breuil (1902) had described as a simple pendant. He did so on the basis of its similarity to some specimens that had just been published by Spencer and Gillen (Cook 1903; Spencer/Gillen 1912 [1903]: Vol. I, 208-216). In his book on Representation of Ancestors in Palaeolithic Art, Paul Wernert (1916) returned to study the same piece, as well as a decorated stick found at Lourdes. He argued that these objects were imbued with religious significance. He summarised the information provided by Spencer and

4 All translations of texts not originally in English are our own.

5 He seems to have been the British version of Solomon Reinach, in the sense that both were active Classicists who were publishing on Upper Palaeolithic art and using Australian ethnography for it.

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Gillen, explaining how Central Australian tribes interpreted bullroarer engravings as representations of ancestors and several totems (water, witchetty grub, Hakea tree, and so on). He also mentioned a particular bullroarer that represented the clan leader Yarumpa Ilitarpa (Spencer/Gillen 1912 [1903]: Vol. I, 208-216; Wernert 1916: 19-20). Looking for similarities to the Australian pieces beyond the two objects he was commenting on, Wernert provided examples of anthropomorphs found in European prehistoric art (although today we know that many of those he selected were of the wrong chronology; for example, he compared those on Azilian pebbles to others found in dolmens). He concluded by proposing an evolutionary development of Palaeolithic religion. In his opinion, Neanderthals had simply known magic, but this had been complemented during the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic by animism, either manism (ancestor worship), animalism (animal worship) or totemism (Wernert 1916: 55-62).

The influence of the early pioneers has cast a long shadow that can be seen in how the relationship between acoustics and prehistoric art has been considered by much later authors. Like the earlier authors from the late 1980s Iégor Reznikoff and Michel Dauvois, and a follower of their proposals, Steve Waller interpreted the positive relationship between acoustics and prehistoric art as a ritual medium (Reznikoff/Dauvois 1988; Waller 1993b). Reznikoff and Dauvois (1988: 228) appealed to the universals suggested by anthropologists and ethnomusicologists regarding the existence of songs in all known societies and also the presence of an audible component in all rituals throughout the world. Therefore, they concluded, there was a clear link between the selection of places with special acoustic properties for making rock art and ritual.

In addition to anthropological analogies, the information about local ethnography may be also useful. Our search for local legends at Valltorta Gorge produced no positive results. However, rock art expert Herbert Kühn explained that on his first visit to Valltorta in 1923 he had difficulties in convincing anyone from the nearby village of Albocàsser to take him to the gorge because the locals believed that "ghosts and spirits hovered between the rocks and their pictures" (Kühn 1956: XXV-XXVI) and about another Levantine rock art area he added:

"Two years later, at Minateda, near Hellín, the local inhabitants could not be induced to help me with my copying of the paintings. They were afraid to touch them, for there was a power innate in them which might wreak some dire evil." (*ibid*.: XXVI)

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When asked about this, one of our local helpers from Albocàsser, the historian Francesc Bellmunt, expressed surprise as no memory of these beliefs exists in the village today. This is also the case in the area near Minateda, as the archaeologist and rock art expert from Hellín, Juan Jordán Montes, confirmed.

Anthropologist Roy Rappaport (1999: 1) reminds us that "it is […] plausible to suppose, although beyond demonstration's possibilities, that religion's origins are, if not one with the origins of humanity, closely connected to them" and points to the "absolute ubiquity of religion, however defined". He takes the term "religion" to denote the domain of the Holy, the constituents of which include the sacred, the numinous, the occult and the divine, as well as ritual, the form of action in which those constituents are generated (*ibid*.: 23). He recognises that the definition is vague, but that "vagueness is not vacuity". Ritual, for him, is "the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers" (*ibid*.: 24). In Rappaport's sense, we should talk about Valltorta more as a holy space than as a ritual one, as, although we can hypothesise that rituals were performed in the area, with the available data we lack evidence to say this with a minimum degree of confidence. We would like to propose the term "holy depth of the landscape" (see Díaz-Andreu 2001) to mean that we can visualise each landscape as an uneven surface where some places have peaks of holiness and others are more quotidian and flat. In the case of Valltorta, we can perceive a hilly holy landscape.

Deep Inward Signification

Following Layton, we define deep inward signification as that related to the world of culturally constructed meanings specific to the individual and the community that produced the art (Layton 2001: 315). In contrast to shallow inward signification, the dependency on deep inward signification for the community that produced the art is such that individuals from other communities are significantly less proficient in understanding it, because they lack the cultural conventions that make understanding possible. An example close to the experience of many may suffice. Whereas it is easy for most Christians (at least those of particular traditions) to recognise that the representation of a sheep on a church means Christ, would we be able to reach such a conclusion if we were ignorant of all Christian cultural conventions and did not have any additional written information about the societies in which this

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depiction was made? The impossibility of guessing meaning without a minimum of cultural understanding makes it extremely difficult to interpret cultural practices established by peoples who disappeared long ago and about whom no written record was produced, as it is the case of Levantine rock art. Regarding Valltorta, can we know whether behind the production of the rock art was totemism, shamanism or any of the other proposals that scholars have been making for the past hundred years? We cannot but insist that, with the scant data available, archaeologists do not have enough information to hypothesise on the specific ritual practices that may have taken place in Valltorta or on the role of acoustics in them.

In this respect it may be useful to discuss the proposal by the Valencian team that post-Palaeolithic art was produced as a reaction to the social consequences of the introduction of a productive economy. Similarly, the Neolithic flutes found in Mediterranean Spain are seen as evidence of the imposition of a new cosmology in that period (Hernández Pérez/Martí 2000-2001; Martí Oliver *et al.* 2001: 63-65). This hypothesis implies ritual changes related to the transformation of the economy, although there is no independent evidence to demonstrate it. The archaeology of religion is seriously underdeveloped on the Iberian Peninsula and, with regard to the flutes, the authors do not explain how they are different to the technologically very similar, but earlier, Upper Palaeolithic examples, which were related to a more ancient cosmology and a non-productive type of economy.

We can conclude, therefore, that despite the fact that cross-cultural comparisons indicate there is a high probability of a relationship between the positive connection of paintings and acoustics and their holy use, we will never be able to know this with complete certainty, as the cultural knowledge of social and religious practices has disappeared forever and prehistorians are limited in what can they state about their results (see Eco 1990). This is not an attempt to deny the utter importance of spiritual life in the past; rather our intention is to be respectful of the data by acknowledging our limits as prehistoric archaeologists.

The acoustic experiments undertaken in Valltorta Gorge clearly show that rock art studies can benefit greatly from looking at the landscape and sensual contexts of rock art. These studies are not incompatible with others that have received better treatment from traditional scholarship, as chronological analyses are extremely useful for providing a diachronic history of the acoustic use of a decorated landscape, something that remains to be done. Also, typological analyses may be crucial for

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determining whether there are particular acoustics sought for specific motifs. These are two possible avenues of research we would like to propose for the future.

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Vaccean Rattles
Toys or Magic Protectors?

By Carlos Sanz Mínguez, Fernando Romero Carnicero,
Roberto De Pablo Martínez and Cristina Górriz Gañán

Vaccean rattles are small closed hollow artifacts made in clay or ceramics, with small clay lumps inside. Shaken, their clinking could have been used to entertain children, while at the same time, they might have also assumed a protective function for the afterlife for those to whom they were offered, regardless of their age or gender. This seems to be the conclusions of the study of the funerary contexts unearthed in the excavation works of the Vaccean-Roman necropolis of Las Ruedas, in Pintia, *related to burials of undermined adult individuals (grave 93), adult males with weapons (grave 38), adult females (grave 154), pubescent girls (graves 127b and 153) and, less certainly, children (grave 90). Their excise decoration, with a 45º-knife-beveled technique, completes their preventive function and it is a characteristic of other peculiar Vaccean productions that also share this odd technique, such as small animal-shaped boxes, boats,* simpula, *votive feet, etc. Their morphological analysis allows the definition of six different groups: spherical, hemispherical, lenticular, cylindrical, reel and spindle-shaped rattles. Their chronology sets a framework that dates back from the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD.*

As indicated by García y Bellido (1943: 59; 1944: 65) and Blázquez (1976: 3; 1977: 332), there are scarce references in classical literature to music and dance among the peoples of ancient *Hispania*. The iconographic documents found, together with a reduced number of musical instruments, do not provide significant information for the understanding of the musical heritage of our pre-Roman ancestors. This is especially remarkable in the case of the peoples that occupied the Northern Subplateau of the Iberian Peninsula at the turn of the Christian Era, even though remains of presumed musical instruments have been found.

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Regarding classical references, Strabo (III, 4, 16) indicates that the Celtiberians and other peoples from the north of the Iberian Peninsula used to dance during full moon nights in front of the doors of their houses. According to Sallust (*Hist.,* II, 92) mothers would recite or sing songs to their children about the great feats of their ancestors, when they would be leaving for war or looting; similarly, in the context of the Sertorian Wars (81-72 BC), texts refer to a community from the plateau (García y Bellido 1943: 62-64; Blázquez 1976: 9) that some authors have identified as the Celtiberians (Sopeña 1995: 60). But none of them indicate whether those dances and songs were accompanied by music and, in case they were, which musical instruments they used. The same applies to the male representations on a vessel from Numantia (Garray, Soria). On it, their arms fit into bull horns, and they perform some sort of ritual dance that may be related to the worship of this animal (Romero 1976: 23, No. 23; *ibid.*: 147-148, Fig. 6-23, Pl. IV-23).

Referring to people from the north of the Iberian Peninsula, Strabo (III, 3, 7) narrates how men drink while dancing to aulos and trumpets. Musicians playing trumpets—sometimes curved, others straight—are represented in two Roman funerary stellae from the ensemble in Lara de los Infantes (Burgos) (Abásolo 1974: 46-47, No. 33; *ibid.*: 106-107, No. 143, Pl. XVII-2, LXVII-1). Also, Numantia provided tubular ceramic artifacts in a circular-shape with mounted ends extended to form the mouthpiece and the pavilion respectively. Identified as trumpets or horns by Taracena (1924: 70-72, Figs. 24 bis, 29; followed by García y Bellido 1943: 83-84, Figs. 10-12; 1944: 75-76, Figs. 8-10; 1946), some of them, those with two double pavilions, were considered forge nozzles, as used in foundries (Vilaseca 1945; 1947; Wattenberg 1963: 41, 167, Tab. XIV, Nos. 386-389, 392-394, 397-400, Pl. XI-5). Thanks to Wattenberg (1963: 41-42, 167-170, Tab. XV, Nos. 401-428, Tab. XVI, Nos. 429-432, 434-437, 440-443, 446-448, Pl. VIII-3, VIII-7, X-1, X-3) there is a tentative classification and evolution of the different models. Grouping the known findings, Pastor (1987; 1998) not only determined two different types according to mouthpieces and horns, but he also described their "specific use for war". Finally, Alfayé (2004: 162-169, Fig. 6) incorporates new examples to point out that horns are a very specific Celtiberian artifact, not just Arevacian, as conceived in previous times.

Some of these artifacts are decorated with black painting, the same as Celtiberian vases. Special mention goes to the decoration of two objects of Numantia's collection, a series of overlapping s-letters and a double spiral that could be the graphic

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representation of the sound (Pastor 1998: 91-94, 125, Figs. 2, 4; 2010: 473-474, 481, Fig. 1g). Among the most interesting pieces are pavilions in the shape of a wolf's head with open gullet (Sopeña 2012: 95, Fig. 4.4) unconvered in Numantia (Wattenberg 1963: 168, No. 414, Tab. XV-414, lam. VIII-3), Tiermes (Montejo de Tiermes, Soria) (García y Bellido 1943: 84; Marco 1989: 129; Jimeno 2005: catalog No. 275) and Peñalba de Villastar (Teruel) (Alfayé 2004: 162-164, Fig. 6). Their configuration associates them with the Celtic *carnyx* (Hunter 2001) and allows them to be considered a humble ceramic version of bronze originals similar to the ones found in the Gallic shrine of Tintignac (Corrèze, France) (Maniquet 2008: 303-313, Figs. 34-46), or represented in the well-known plate (Gricourt 1954) of Gundestrup cauldron (Olmsted 1979).

It is worth mentioning a group of artifacts manufactured using the end of a deer antler. They adopt a curved shape with a pointed end, and a flat end. Next to the latter, a knife-beveled cut is performed on its inner part, and a perforation on it traverses the inside and connects to the base. Well documented in the Northern Plateau and in the Ebro Valley, in Iron Age settlements these representations were identified as whistles by Llanos (1983a: 18, top photo; 1983b: 121, top right photo; 2005), and later as cheekpieces of horsebits or *psalia* by Escudero and Balado (1990).

Answers to the questions regarding the functionality of these artifacts are still far from being solved. Different authors that have dealt with its study have only collected the different proposals suggested (Liesau 1998: 146, Fig. 76; Adán, 2003: 101; Tardio/Zamalloa 2011: 52, 56-59, 73, Pl. 2-3: 46; Tardio 2011: 192-193, Figs. 1-2, no.11-12; Misiego *et al.* 2013: 250, 328, Figs. 53, 72, Pl. 154). Still, in the best of cases, they tend to favor the later proposal (Esparza 1999: 104; Liesau 2005: 198, Figs. 8-9; 2006: 106, Figs. 8-9; Liesau/Blasco 2006: 135-136, Figs. 4-1, 2). However, a new possibility has emerged with an artifact of smaller size that could be an expander, a wooden hand sock, or a pendant (Celis 1993: 127, Fig. 16-4).

Finally, there is a small ceramic cock that was unearthed in Sepúlveda (Segovia), which has been identified as a wind instrument, a whistle (Blanco 1998: 155, 158, Fig. 16-2, Pl. I-3; Alfayé 2007: 80, 90, No. 12, Fig. 14) and a possible children's toy (Blanco 2003: 75).

So far, these lines of inquiry have focused on the available data and documents on the musical activities of the peoples from the inner Iberian Peninsula. The following chapters will be devoted to the study of other musical instruments—in this case, idiophones—such as rattles. Considering the geographical distribution of this type

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of rattles, they seem to be a Vaccean creation. Thus, before dealing with their study, we will focus on this pre-Roman civilization.

The *Vaccaei*

The Vaccaei occupied 50,000 km^2 of the Northern Plateau in the Iberian Peninsula, the area in the middle course of the Douro River (Fig. 1.A). Archaeological evidence of the Vaccaei extends back to the late 5th century BC and their history coincides with the development of the 2nd Iron Age (Wattenberg 1959; Romero/Sanz 2010, eds.).

They were responsible for the first urban settlements in this territory: city-states that occupied areas of up to 15-20 hectares, and might have sheltered a population of several thousand people. Other minor settled areas dependent on these were also identified, giving rise to a hierarchical habitat. Both city-states and dependent clusters were located near important waterways, and thus reveal a concern for defense, indicated by ramparts and ditches. On the inside, a series of streets organize the quadrangular living units in rather regular blocks. Houses consisted of a number of rooms used for different purposes. Walls were built of sun-dried bricks plastered with clay and paints; roofs were made of branches covered with clay, supported by vertical and horizontal beams; and floors consisted of compacted sand.

The economy of the Vaccaei was based on wheat farming and cow and sheep breeding, though these activities were complemented by crafts manufacture and commercial relationships. Technological innovations favored the former, as in the case of the introduction of the potter's wheel, which gave way to a rich and varied range of ceramic products; or the spread of iron metallurgy, which eased the production of new tools and weapons. Ornaments were mainly made in bronze. In later periods, jewelry was also made of silver—such as torques and bracelets—and gold—such as earrings—both of a unique character.

Regarding funerary practices, it is notable that unborn children and young children were buried in the ground under their homes. Two funerary rituals unveil their belief in an afterlife and celestial realm, where deities resided. The first ritual was cremation and the subsequent burial of the remains included ceramics, now identified in the necropolis for the first time. The grave goods and offerings that accompanied the deceased have revealed a complex and extremely hierarchical Vaccean society, headed by a minority warrior aristocracy. The second ritual—known from texts and

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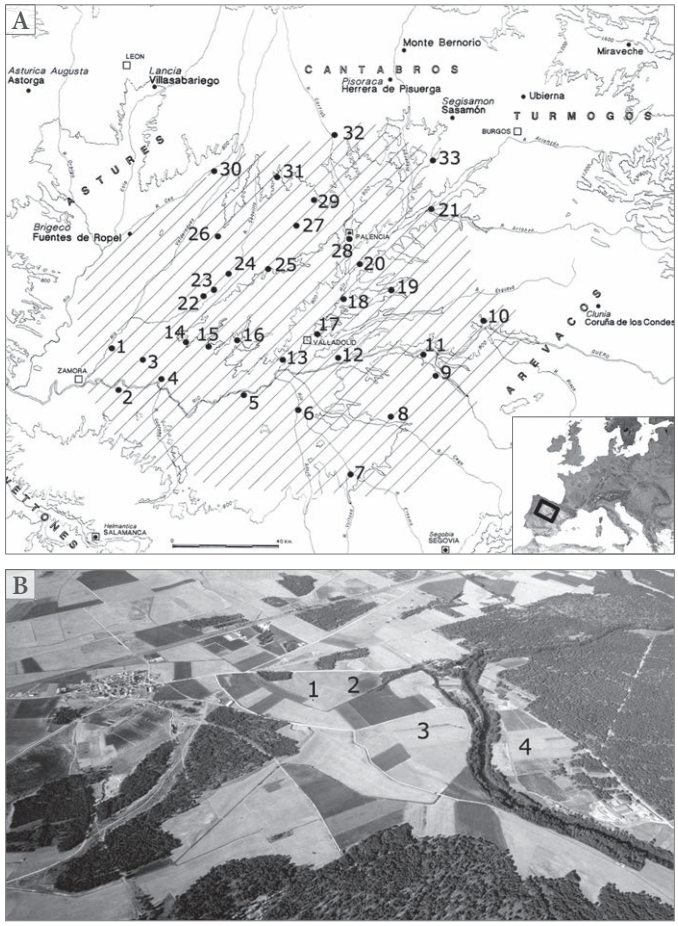

Fig. 1 A) The Vaccean region. 1. Molacillos, 2. Bamba (Arbucala), *3. Abezames, 4. Toro, 5. Tordesillas, 6. Matapozuelos* (Nivaria), *7. Coca* (Cauca), *8. Cuéllar* (Colenda), *9. Torre de Peñafiel, 10. Roa de Duero (Rauda), 11. Padilla de Duero* (Pintia), *12. Tudela de Duero* (Tela), *13. Simancas* (Septimanca), *14. Tiedra* (Amallobriga), *15. Mota del Marqués, 16. Torrelobatón, 17. Soto de Medinilla, Valladolid, 18. Valoria la Buena, 19. Vertavillo, 20. Tariego de Cerrato, 21. Palenzuela* (Pallantia), *22. Villagarcía de Campos, 23. Tordehumos, 24. Medina de Rioseco, 25. Montealegre* (Intercatia), *26. Aguilar de Campos, 27. Castromocho, 28. Palencia (Pallantia), 29. Paredes de Nava, 30. Melgar de Abajo, 31. Cisneros, 32. Carrión de los Condes* (Lacobriga), *33. Castrojeriz. B) Aerial view the Archaeological site of Pintia, Padilla de Duero/Peñafiel-Pesquera de Duero (Valladolid). 1. Necropolis of Las Ruedas, 2.* Ustrinum *of Los Cenizales, 3. City of Las Quintanas, 4. The artisian neighborhood of Carralaceña.*

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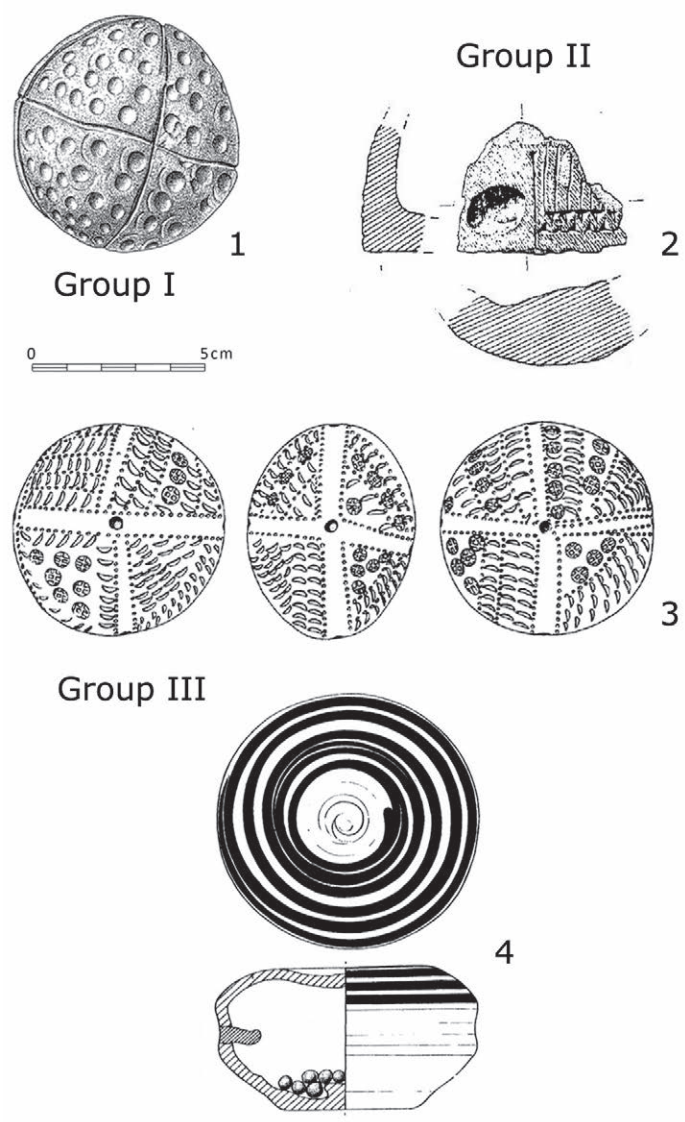

Fig. 2 Vaccean rattles. Group I, spherical: *1. Necropolis of Las Ruedas, grave 153.* Group II, hemispherical: *2. Las Ruedas, after Sanz (1997, Fig. 171-539).* Group III, Lenticular: *3. City of Las Quintanas, after Martín/Romero (1980: Fig. 2); 4. Las Ruedas, grave 67, after Sanz* et al. *(2003: Fig. 10, no. 2).*

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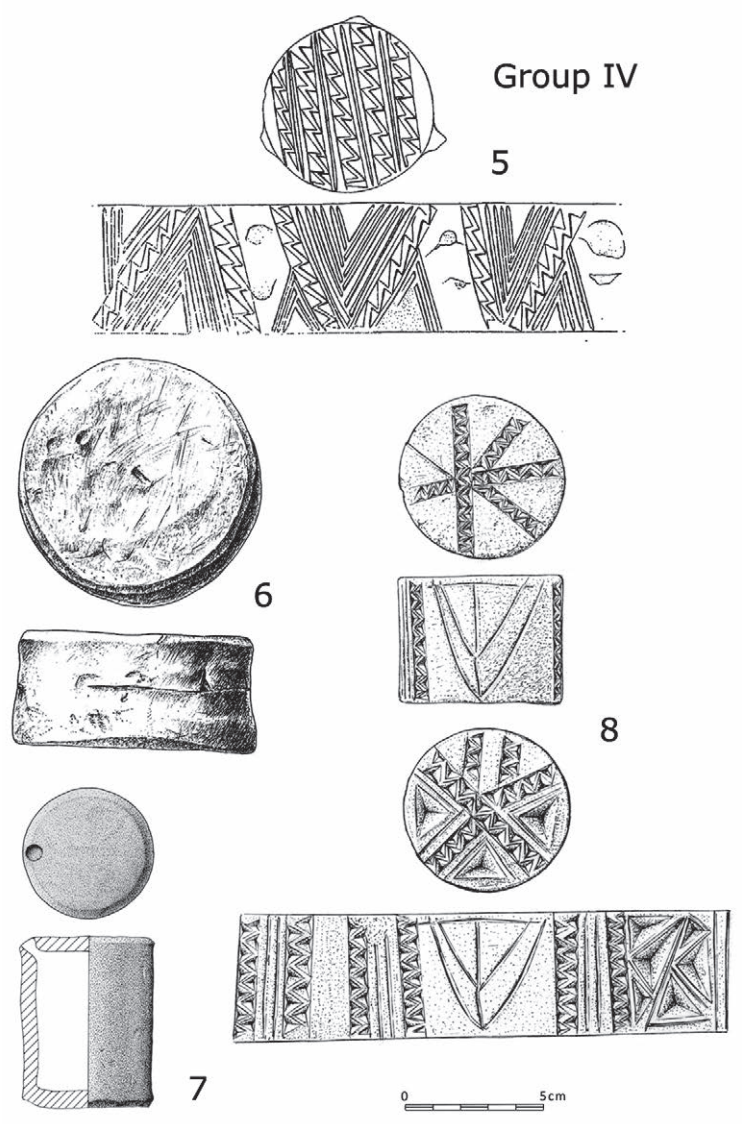

Fig. 3 Vaccean rattles. Group IV, cylindrical: *5. El Soto de Medinilla, after Martín/Romero (1980: Fig. 1); 6. Las Ruedas, grave 154; 7. Las Ruedas, grave 38, after Sanz (1997: Fig. 91-R); 8. Las Ruedas, grave 127b, after Romero/Sanz (2009: Fig. 2).*

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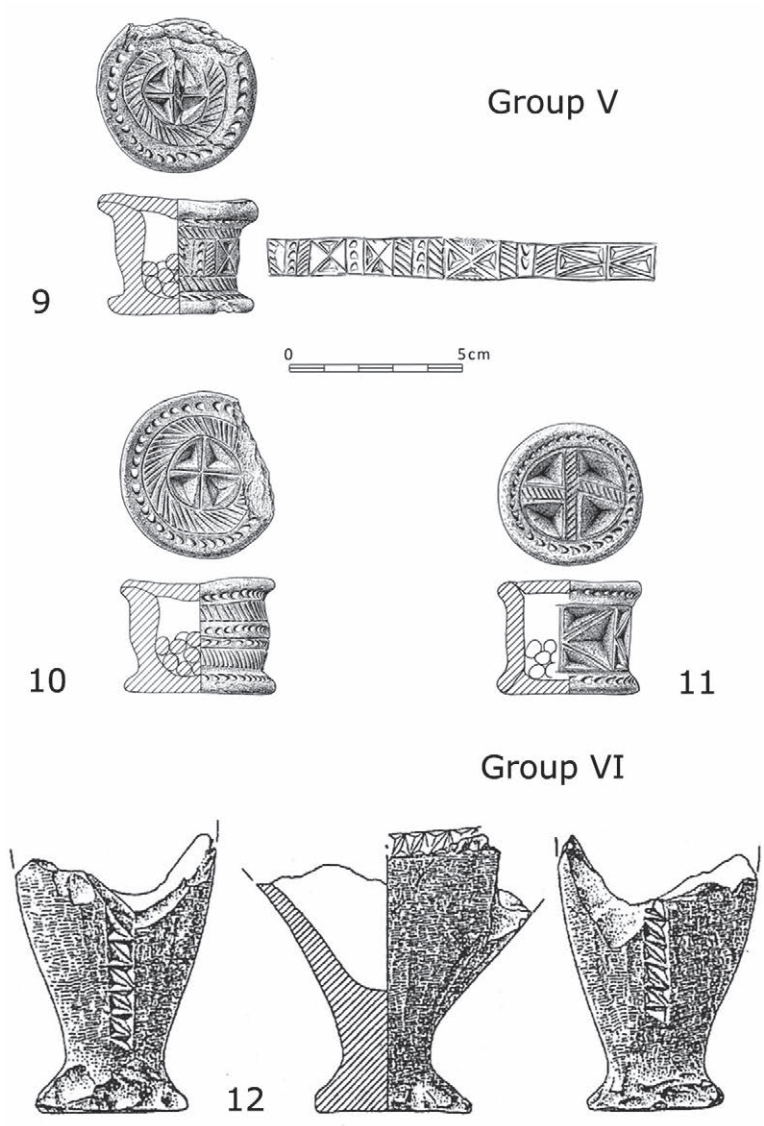

Fig. 4 Vaccean rattles. Group V, Reel; *9 and 10. Las Ruedas, grave 90, after Sanz* et al. *(2007: Fig. 3) and Romero* et al. *(2008: Fig. 10); 11. Las Ruedas, grave 93.* Group VI, *spindle-shaped: 12. El Soto de Medinilla, after Sanz (1997: Fig. 215-1).*

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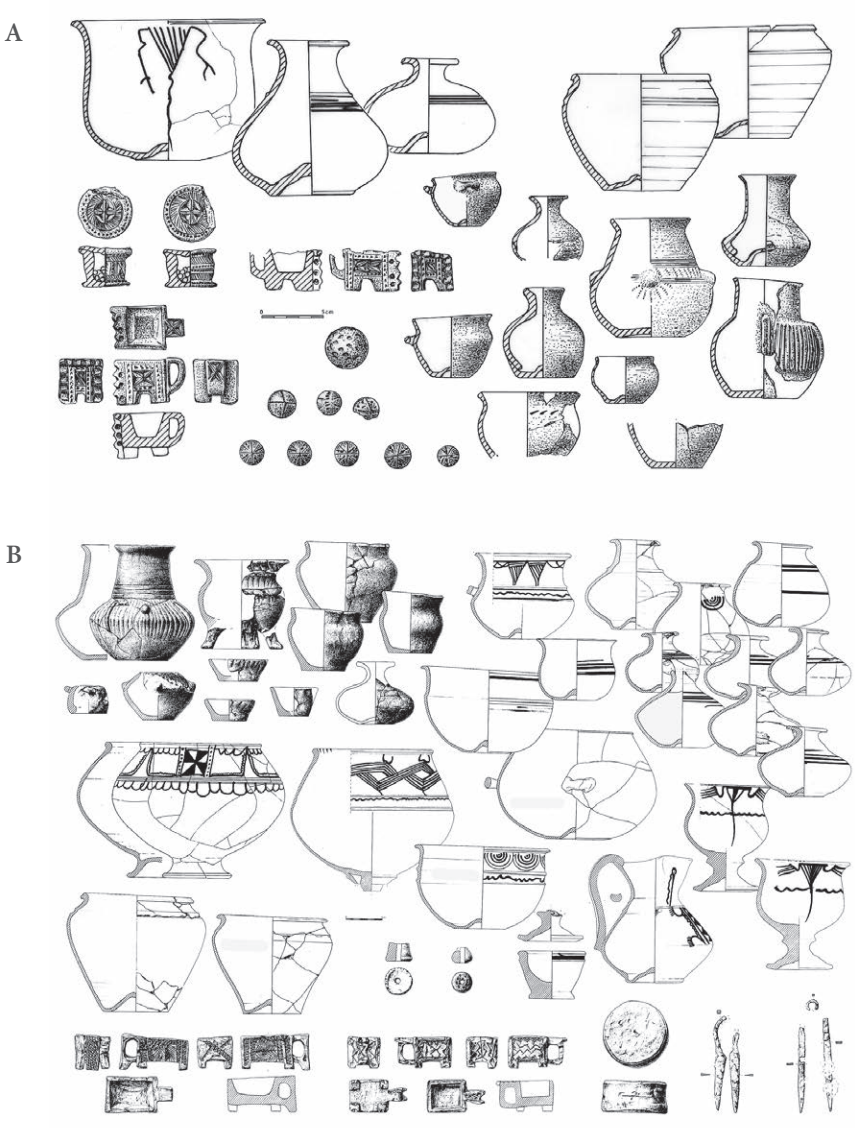

Fig. 5 Graves 90 (A), after Romero et al. *(2008: Fig. 10), and 154 (B), of the necropolis of Las Ruedas.*

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iconographic documents—was the exposure of warriors, who had been killed in combat, to vultures. After devouring their bodies, the sacred birds would carry their souls to heaven (Silius Italicus, *Pun.* III, 340-343, on Celtiberians; Claudius Aelianus, *Natur. anim.* X, 22, on Vaccaei).

Finally, attention should briefly focus on one of the cities where most of the artifacts analyzed was uncovered, *Pintia*. Located on the eastern end of the Vaccean territory, near today's Padilla de Duero and on the banks of the Douro river, it comprises a total surface of 125 hectares with different functions in a number of different quarters (Fig. 1.B), the city (the residential area of Las Quintanas), the Vaccean-Roman cemetery (*Las Ruedas* necropolis), together with its *ustrinum* and, maybe, a shrine. These were only detected through a perusal of aerial photographs. Besides these areas, a potter's activity is recorded in a craft quarter across the river. The city, which was extended over 25 hectares, was limited by the course of the river, and included strong ramparts and triple ditches. Its development lasted from the late 5th century BC to the 7th century AD. Almost 300 hundred tombs have been uncovered in *Las Ruedas* necropolis, which reaches six hectares. The necropolis was in use from the early days of the city, up to the late 1st century or early 2nd century AD (Sanz 1997; Sanz/Velasco 2003).

The Vaccean Rattles

Throughout the 20th century, excavations have unearthed a series of ceramic artifacts that were closed, and hollow, with small elements on their insides. These have been identified as rattles in different archaeological sites from the Northern Plateau of the Iberian Peninsula, in Numantia (Mélida *et al.* 1924: 29; 1929: 256; Jiménez *et al.* 2012); in the necropolis Eras del Bosque (Palencia, ancient Roman *Pallantia*) (Taracena 1947: 90, Pl. XXX); in the Vaccean-Roman *Pintia* (Padilla de Duero, Valladolid) or in Paredes de Nava (Palencia) (Wattenberg 1959: 216, Nos. 10 and 11); in the Pre-Roman necropolis of *Pallantia,* near Palenzuela (Palencia) today (Castro 1971: 24, No. 52, 44-45, Pl. XVI-52); in the fort Cuesta del Mercado (Coca, Segovia) where the Vaccean *Cauca* (Blanco 1994: 60, Fig. 16-9) was settled; and in Las Erijuelas necropolis, in ancient *Colenda* (Cuéllar, Segovia) (Molinero 1971: 106, No. 3.506, Pl. CLXXVIII-C.531; Barrio 1988: 172, No. C-531, Pl. 84-531).

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Most of the pieces can be considered marble-rattles, due to their small size and their spherical nature. The first rattles documented are two objects from El Soto de Medinilla (Valladolid) and from the residential area of Las Quintanas in *Pintia* (Martín/Romero 1980). Later findings resulted from the excavation works carried out in Las Ruedas cemetery in *Pintia,* either in a secondary layout or as part of the grave goods unearthed in some tombs. The rattles unearthed during the first campaigns were made public in the first study of the necropolis (Sanz 1997: 99, R, 175, Nos. 538-539, Figs. 91-R, 171-538, 539). Those unearthed in the excavation campaigns since the year 2000 are still unknown.

Typology

From a morphological perspective these rattles are closed hollow ceramic containers with small stones or clay lumps on their insides, which make sounds when they are shaken. A preliminary study identified three different groups: spherical, cylindrical and spindle-shaped (Sanz 1997: 333-336) rattles. However, more recent findings have incorporated three new groups, hemispherical, lenticular and reel rattles.

Group I. Spherical rattles (Fig. 2.1). This is the simplest group in terms of morphology and decoration, as they are characterized by plain printed and incised decorations. Dimensions for these range from 40 to 70 mm in diameter. Some of the examples in this group were originally defined as marble rattles (Wattenberg 1959: 216) due to their similarity to those of solid clay marbles: divided into printed stippled quadrants, incised lines or small imprints, cup-marks or circles and, exceptionally, excise decorations. Plain examples have also been found (Wattenberg 1959: 216, Tab. XVII-10 and 11; Blanco 1994: 60, Fig. 16-9; Sanz 1997: 333, Fig. 215-2; Sanz/Romero 2009: 11-13, Fig. p. 13 above).

Group II. Hemispherical rattles (Fig. 2.2). This group has only been documented in an incomplete and fragmented artifact unearthed in a secondary location in the necropolis *Las Ruedas, at Pintia.* All in all, the base and orientation of its walls suggest the presence of a hemispherical hood (Sanz 1997: 175, No. 539, Fig. 171, No. 539).

Group III. Lenticular rattles (Figs. 2.3, 2.4). Although integrated in the same group according to their morphology, the two examples identified present well-differentiated

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manufacture and decoration. The first one is 50/60 mm in diameter, handmade and decorated with printed and stamped motifs (Martín/Romero 1980: 162, Fig. 2, Pl. 1-2); whereas the second one was thrown, decorated with paint and with a diameter of 80mm (Sanz et al. 2003: 213, Fig. 10-2; 2006: 76, Fig. 10-2; 2007: 294).

Group IV. Cylindrical rattles (Figs. 3.5-3.8). Their dimensions range from 40 to 70 mm in height, and 50 to 90 mm in diameter. Two examples differ slightly from the morphological and ornamental standard, either by their different height, or by their plain decoration, which contrasts with the profuse excise decoration of the rest. Nevertheless, comb-decorated, knife-decorated, or even painted (Molinero 1971: 106, No. 3.506, Pl. CLXXVIII-C.531; Martín/Romero 1980: 161, Fig. 1, Pl. 1-1; Barrio 1988: 172, Pl. 84, C-531; Sanz 1997: 99, R, 175, No. 538, Fig. 91-R, 171-538; Sanz/Romero 2008: 11, top left photo; Sanz *et al.* 2009: 75; Romero/Sanz 2009, 76-82; Fig. 2; Sanz/Romero 2010: 407, Fig. 3) rattles abound.

Group V. Reel rattles (Figs. 4.9-4.11). These could be considered a variant of the previous group, given their cylindrical body. Nevertheless, their bases, smaller than the diameter of their body, provide them with the characteristic reel shape. The decoration presents radial patterns in covers and continuous or metoped friezes across the walls. They are composed of a cylinder 35mm high with a 36mm diameter, capped by slightly bigger bases, of 44-50mm diameter (Sanz *et al.* 2007: 293-294, Fig. 3; Sanz/Diezhandino 2007: 101; Romero et al. 2008: Fig. 10; Sanz, 2010: 226, Fig. 27).

Group VI. Spindle-shaped rattles (Fig. 4.12). Only one incomplete artifact, unearthed in El Soto de Medinilla, constitutes this group. It presents an excise decoration and details on its finding context are unknown (Sanz 1997: 335, Fig. 215-1).

Decoration

The rattles clearly show the common decorative pattern traditionally applied to the so-called Vaccean productions—such as small boxes, boats, bases—(Sanz 1997: 314-349), adapted when necessary to the flat or bent surfaces of the objects. Thus, the spherical and lenticular rattles (groups I and III) present a pattern already found in small balls or Vaccean clay marbles. This consists of compartmentalizing the sphere into quadrants using thin-spike comb-decoration imprints (number 3) or simple

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incisions (number 1). However, excision is also present in fragmented examples not included in this work. The filling can include blunt-ended imprints or spheres, incised x-shaped motifs, or eel-shaped printed motifs and stamps of segmented or compartmentalized circles.

Among the cylindrical and reel rattles (groups IV and V), some exceptional examples reproduce previous decorative patterns, with a stamped comb-decoration segmenting walls and covers, and filled in with triangular and circular blunt-ended imprints, at least in the case of a fragment not included in the present study. However, in most cases the excise decoration is present, not only in walls, but also in the covers. Covers are decorated with a radial or x-shaped pattern (numbers 8, 9, 10 and 11), although a succession of excise zigzag friezes (number 5) is noticed in some pieces. Walls can be decorated with excised or printed friezes (numbers 9, 10 and 11) delimiting spaces. In any case, decoration is arranged as a continuous frieze (numbers 10 and 11), metoped/compartmentalized vertically. In the case of object number 5, spaces among the three handles include a pattern of two or three series of juxtaposed concentric angles with dihedral excisions delimited by excised trihedral zig-zags. In object number 8 trihedral zig-zag friezes alternate with two other lines in a dihedral excision, forming two bigger spaces that include principal motifs with dihedral or trihedral excisions. Finally, in the other complete example that permits evaluation of its composition (number 9), vertical friezes with incisions and impressions compartmentalize the spaces filled by x-shaped motifs with two, four and six triangles of trihedral excisions engraved.

There is another piece that is particularly significant, rattle number 6. It presents an incised central line in its wall, with a trihedral-excised triangle above and below it. The most simple interpretation for this could be explained by the fact that for this excise decoration it is necessary to get clay on a "leather texture", that is to say, that clay has given off most of its humidity, which is necessary for modeling it, but is not yet totally dry and hard. At that point in the manufacturing process, the surface can be perfectly carved adopting a knife-beveled technique, with the point of a knife inclined in a 45º angle, forming a dihedral, trihedral or tetrahedral angle. As a result, clay could have dried up more than expected, at the time of decorating the piece. The poor texture conditions of clay would have explained the giving up of the decoration process once it started. But another possibility, considering the symbolic-protective nature of the decorative excise technique, is that the pattern represented the intended

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use, scarce and precise with respect to the pattern design, with some purpose that escapes our understanding.

Some of the cylindrical rattles also lack decoration (number 7). Pre-firing manganese dioxide painting is rarely referenced, but it is present in some cylindrical and lenticular examples, such as number 14 with a thin spiral line similar to that of flared bottles, normally associated with curved bottles.

Finally, hemispherical and spindle-shaped rattles (groups II and VI) include excise zig-zag friezes. Their fragmented nature prevents further considerations regarding their decorative composition.

Manufacturing Techniques

These singular artifacts were mostly handmade in ochre or orange and well decanted clay. There are only two exceptions of rattles made on the potter´s wheel, the only ones with painted decoration, found in Las Ruedas necropolis, in *Pintia*. Firing took place in oxidizing ovens, although some examples were not exposed to this final stage of the manufacturing process, as in the case of reel rattles. Only two rattles, the hemispherical (number 2) and the cylindrical (number 5) ones found in El Soto de Medinilla, show traces of handles, now missing.

Spherical rattles might have been built from two hemispheric parts. In the case of cylindrical and reel rattles, the body could have been erected from one of the bases, sealing it later on with a circular plate. In either case, the joint of the different parts was perfectly sealed and concealed with the same clay after the introduction of the elements that would make it rattle. The accidental breaking of the lenticular rattle from grave 67 in Las Ruedas *(Pintia)* allows us to know some other aspects (number 4). Erected in this case from its flat bases, it was closed on its upper side by an *umbo.* In the inside it contained six small clay balls and a fine white powder that might have served to prevent the small balls from sticking to one another or to the inner walls. These elements might have been introduced before firing through a hole made in the center of the body, which was then sealed with a small lid carefully masked (Sanz *et al.* 2007: 294).

Other examples also include the presence of holes. Such is the case of the two rattles unearthed in *Pintia:* the cylindrical example from grave 38 in Las Ruedas, and the lenticular one found in Las Quintanas. In the first example (number 7), the hole might have been used, as previously described, to introduce small balls and non-stick

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powder. And yet the second rattle (number 3) presents six holes of a smaller size. This has given rise to several interpretations: that they were used to favor firing and prevent breaking during the process (Barril 1990: 332; Sanz 1997: 335), or, instead, to stress and improve the sound produced (Martín/Romero 1980: 162). Considering that most referenced rattles do not present these drillings, they might not have been essential for the correct firing process, but might instead indicate an increase in the volume when shaken.

Archaeological Context

Most rattles correspond to superficial or secondary finds. Nevertheless, for the aim of the present work, only those rattles with a typological categorization or those associated with specific archaeological contexts have been selected. Among the latter, seven examples were identified in six tombs in Las Ruedas necropolis. This is rattles from groups I, III, IV and V, uncovered on graves 153 (number 1), 67 (number 4), 38 (number 7), 154 (number 6), 127b (number 8), 90 (numbers 9 and 10) and 93 (number 11).

Assemblages 67 and 93 showed some alteration in their deposits, with some artifacts originally associated with them now missing. Thus, these have only been considered partially. The rest of the tombs, on the contrary, presented a very good state of preservation, with some complexes revealing an outstanding richness, as represented by the number of pieces included in the burials: 112 (grave 153), 38 (grave 38), 41 (grave 154, Fig. 5.B), 69 (grave 127b) and 32 (grave 90, Fig. 5.A).

All these assemblages, except for grave 67, yielded a group of cremated bone remains that have been analyzed to establish their gender and age. In three cases (graves 38, 93 and 154), the remains are those of an adult, a male and an individual of undetermined sex, respectively. Three others (90, 127b and 153) correspond to immature individuals, the first one from the *infantia,* and from the *puertitia* the second and third individuals. Together with anthropological analysis, the study of certain data related to the configuration of grave goods and offerings, such as the presence of sewing needles and/or ceramic spindle whorls, could define the female nature of graves 127b, 153 and 154.

As a result, the rattles belong to undetermined adult individuals (grave 93), adult males with weapons (grave 38), adult females (grave 154), pubescent girls (graves 127b and 153) and, with less certainty, children (grave 90).

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In the light of this data, the presence of rattles in tombs might be indicative of a protective and preventive function, regardless of the gender or age of the entombed. However, a ritual use may be attributed to their presence in child tombs, as indicated by their duplicated presence in grave 90.

We will not offer a detailed analysis of the configuration of grave goods, which are characterized by a large ensemble of recipients of diverse typologies that would have contained standardized offerings according to age, gender, social status, etc. However, attention should be addressed to the repeated presence of some singular productions, such as small animal-shaped boxes with excised decoration (present in graves 127b, 90, 93 and 153, and 154), as well as balls or marbles (in all the previous examples, except for grave 154). These singular artifacts would certainly reinforce the protective and preventive function of the rattles with which they were associated.

Chronology

The first two rattles that were made public were the result of accidental finds. Their dating—only possible, at that time, through the study of their decorations and manufacturing techniques—placed them between the late 3rd century and the 1st century BC, being the later century the favored option (Martín/Romero 1980: 164-165). It was not until the excavation works in the Las Ruedas necropolis *(Pintia)*, 15 years later, when the first example that was perfectly contextualized was uncovered, grave 38 (Sanz 1997: 96-100, Figs. 90-92). Its representative grave goods allowed its dating from the 3rd to 2nd century BC (Sanz 1997: 336).

The excavation campaigns started again in the cemetery in 2000, and as a result, several rattles were uncovered in different tombs, together with others found in secondary contexts. Thus, the final count resulted in two rattles uncovered in grave 90 (Sanz *et al.* 2007: 293-294, Fig. 3; Sanz/Diezhandino 2007: 99-102; Sanz 2010: 226, Fig. 27), one in grave 93 (Sanz *et al.* 2007: 294), one in grave 127b (Sanz/Romero 2008: 11-12, top left photo; Romero/Sanz 2009, 73-82; Fig. 2; Sanz/Romero 2010: 406-407, 411, Fig. 3; Sanz *et al.* 2009: 71-80), one in grave 153 (Sanz/Romero 2009: 11-13, Fig. p. 13 above) and the sixth one, in grave 154.

These graves date back to the 2nd century BC. Small polished black ceramic bottles yielded in graves 153 and 154 (Fig. 5.B) reinforce this date, as this ceramic technique was traditionally used in the two last centuries BC. (Romero *et al.* 2012: 632-634). The Vaccean goldsmithing would be contextualized in the same period, according

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to the clay reproductions of some jewels, as the ones documented in graves 127b and 153 (Romero/Sanz 2010: 456-460). Graves 90 (Fig. 5.A) and 93 include small boxes and different ceramic miniature artifacts, whose manufacture would date back to the late 3rd century, throughout the 2nd and to the 1st century BC (Sanz 1997: 326-327). Grave goods found in graves 127b, 153 and 154 (Fig. 5.B) yielded other objects such as pottery jars and cups or iron grills, trivets and tongs. All these artifacts are associated with dining rituals that, from the late 3rd century BC, were not only restricted to the elite, but seem to include a wide range of social groups (Górriz 2010: 243-248).

Attention should also be paid to the last find, a wheel-thrown object with painted decoration found in grave 67 in Las Ruedas (number 4). As indicated by an elaborated stele sheltered in a small wooden box, it also included a late-republican lamp and a glass unguent-bottle that date from the early 1st century AD (Sanz *et al.* 2003: 212-215, Fig. 10-2; Sanz *et al.* 2006: 75-76, Fig. 10-2).

To sum up, the rattles in our study are dated from the late 3rd century BC to the early 1st century AD.

Functionality

Since the first rattles were made public, different authors have questioned their purpose and significance, based on isolated examples that sometimes fail to include an archaeological context. Thus, Mélida (1929: 256) states that they might be some sort of game of chance or an artifact used in questioning oracles. Wattenberg (1959: 216, Nos. 10 and 11) noticed their potential religious significance. Martín and Romero (1980: 165) were inclined to consider them, like current rattles, childrens' toys. Sanz (1997: 335) insisted on their religious significance, assigning them a preventive function. More recently Jiménez, García and Padilla (2012: 181-183 and 186) have connected them to certain rites of passage, most especially with some death-related rituals, as well as use as charms that would protect pregnant women from miscarriage and help them during labor and delivery.

Today, after over 30 rattles have been found, both complete and fragmented objects, it is still not easy to determine their use, as most of them lack a precise archaeological context. In fact, apart from the two rattles of an uncertain origin, the one from Las Ruedas necropolis in *Pintia,* and the one from Paredes de Nava, only five were unearthed in villages, El Soto de Medinilla (3), Coca (1) and Las Quintanas in *Pintia* (1). The rest were found in cemeteries, one in Las Erijuelas (Cuéllar) and the

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others (22) in Las Ruedas, *Pintia*. Unfortunately, only eight of them were found in tombs—graves 38, 67, 90 (two examples), 93, 127b, 153 and 154, although 67 and 93, were altered—whereas the rest were found in secondary contexts.

All in all, the overwhelming presence of rattles in necropolises would indicate that they are related to funerary rituals, proving their protective or preventive function. However, as indicated previously, their presence might not be related to the gender and the age of the deceased, as they are present on burials of male and female adults as well as on those of children. Nevertheless, the prevailing presence of this ritual element in child tombs is remarkable. Significantly, two rattles were found in grave 90, which belongs to an individual of particularly young age. Neither is it easy to know whether they are conditioned by the social status, even though graves in a better state of preservation yielded important grave goods and offerings.

Even if the presence of rattles in certain cities points to a possible children use, their relatively large size and heavy weight do not support this idea, as neither of them seems adequate for their use by children of some early months of age. Based on Saintyves (1935: 622), similar considerations have recently been presented by authors in a study of several artifacts from Numantia (Jiménez *et al.* 2012: 176-177),—spherical artifacts that, curiously enough, show a smaller size than our pieces, as their diameters range from 38 to 45mm. At the same time, the fact that some of the rattles uncovered in the tombs—surprisingly, the three unique examples of reel rattles—are made in raw clay may indicate that they were made expressly and immediately due to an unexpected death, and thus, they were not originally part of the personal belongings used by the deceased. This is especially relevant, as two of them were uncovered in grave 90, which contained the remains of the smallest child.

The cylindrical rattle from El Soto de Medinilla may have had three handles, now missing. This would suggest a function in line with the one originally considered, that it was to be hung inside or at the entrance of the house to dispel disease, chase away evil spirits, and, more generally, to protect its inhabitants.

So far, the considerations of the rattles are analyzed in relation to their possible use and significance and according to the context where they were uncovered. But regardless of the relevance of the original context, these are artifacts that can be easily transported and, thus, might have been used in different contexts and with different functions that might have changed through the years, and according to the users (Alfayé 2007: 73-74).

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Final Considerations

The rattles we have analyzed must be considered part of the singular Vaccean ceramic productions, both for their formal and decorative characteristics, as well as for the fact that, up to now, no evidence exists of the use of similar artifacts in any other pre-Roman civilization in the inner Iberian Peninsula.

However, it is not easy to determine their use. Nevertheless, their predominant presence in tombs suggests that at least in those cases, they were related to funerary rituals and, quite probably, their aim was to aid the passage of the deceased to the afterlife. In this case, it seems evident that they are not conditioned by the gender or the age of the deceased and, although they are in most cases part of rich grave goods, their use cannot be claimed to be restricted to members of the social elite. Nevertheless, we cannot dismiss their possible apotropaic use, aimed to protect the home and its inhabitants. Finally, even though unlikely, the smaller examples could still be considered children toys.

Questions of their functionality are still open to new possible interpretation. We expect that future findings will shed light on their functionality and significance, at the same time as dispelling uncertainties.

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The Ritual Significance of the Scandinavian Bronze Age Lurs

An Examination Based on Ethnographic Analogies

By Gjermund Kolltveit

The horns of the Scandinavian Bronze Age—the so called bronze lurs—were originally deposited in pairs as sacrifices, most of them in wetlands. It is commonly accepted that these instruments were used for ritual and cultic purposes. Based on the archaeological contexts of the finds, iconographical sources, and analogies drawn from different instrument traditions, the article discusses and re-examines the ritual significance of the bronze lurs and their sound. It also analyses the utility value of analogy, and discusses the meaning and usability of the concept of ritual, in connection with religion, performance and music. Other lip-vibrated aerophones from several continents might in various ways provide some parallels to bronze lurs. From archaeological sources the lurs could be compared to the bronze horns of Ireland. Other European ancient trumpets are less relevant analogies, but still important as comparative material. One plausible interpretation of the ritual use of bronze lurs is that they were part of calendar celebrations that worshipped the sun, and thus ensured cyclical renewal, continuity and cosmological order.

Since their discovery in the 18th and 19th centuries, the lurs of the Scandinavian Bronze Age (1800–500 BC) have been important artefacts to archaeologists and musicologists, by virtue of their magnificent appearance and technology. They have been regarded as fine examples of ancient musical instruments, especially in the Scandinavian countries, and particularly in Denmark, where most of the lurs are found. Modern scholarship has, generally speaking, been more concerned with the social, cultural and religious significance of the lurs, than their purely musical characteristics. However, little in-depth research has focused on the important contextual aspects of the instruments. Without dismissing the musical side, this article seeks to re-examine the lurs as ritual devices. A central approach is ethnographical and archaeological parallels, where analogies from other, comparable instrument

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types and cultures are discussed. An important issue is a discussion of the term "ritual". What does it mean that lurs were used for ritual or cultic purposes?

The Bronze Lurs: Archaeological Contexts and Background

Most of the instruments have been found in southern Scandinavia, that is present day Denmark and southern Sweden, although there have also been finds in Norway, Latvia and Germany. The majority were discovered in the 19th century. To this date 60 lurs are known (Post 2005: 50). All of them were found deposited in bogs. From this we assume that the instruments were buried deliberately, in other words that they were offered or sacrificed. Probably they belonged to the ruling classes of South-Scandinavian societies. Bronze was an aristocratic metal, and the lurs in particular required specialist makers. The technique of bronze casting used in lurs, was the 'lost wax' method (Fr. *cire perdue*). This was extremely complicated in this case, showing that the instruments were masterpieces of metalwork. The lurs were buried in bogs as pairs. The two were made as a pair, twined in opposite directions, one to the left and the other to the right. Hence, they had a symmetrical look, strongly suggesting that they were also played in pairs. In the 19th century the lurs were considered to be military signal instruments, sometimes referred to as "trumpets of war" (for instance in 1836 by Christian Jørgensen Thomsen [Johansson 2005: 93]). Gradually, this view changed, and nowadays archaeologists see them as religious and ritual items (Fig. 1). This interpretation is supported by scenes at rock carvings, where people visibly playing lur-like instruments seem to participate in processions or rites (Lund 1986b: 28–30; Nordbladh 1986). Most of these carvings can be found in the county of Bohuslän at the west coast of Sweden.

The early researchers of the lurs, notably the Danish music historian Angul Hammerich (1893), were committed to the musical possibilities of these instruments. The books in English and Danish by Broholm (Broholm/Larsen/Skjerne 1949; Broholm 1965), still considered the standard works on bronze lurs, focused mostly on descriptions, technology and musical possibilities. Oldeberg's study dealt with the non-Danish finds and has a particularly detailed section on research history (Oldeberg 1947). The bronze lur publication as a result of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology's meeting in Stockholm in 1984 (Lund 1986a), which included a wide range of contributions from various specialists, is the most comprehensive

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Fig. 1 Funeral ceremony with bronze lurs. Drawing by the Danish artist Carl Jensen (1851–1933).

treatment of this topic to date. In addition to articles on archaeological contexts, research history, and technological and musicological matters, it includes some ethnographical approaches, comparing lurs to the Australian didgeridoo (Faulkner 1986), Tibetan *dung-chen* (Sommarström 1986) and discussing comparative religion (Hultkrantz 1986).

Historical and Ethnographic Analogies

The use of analogies in bronze lur research in Lund (1986a) was, however, not new. Curt Sachs compared the lurs to other twin trumpets, including instruments from modern India (Sachs 1940: 113). Also Hammerich (1893) pointed to some similarities between the lurs and other instruments, such as the Etruscan *lituus* and the trumpets of the Jews mentioned in the Old Testament. The method of analogy was also applied by the first reports of the lurs. In 1797, when the farmer Ole Pedersen found the top parts of six lurs in Brudevælte, the first reports by the county administers in Fredriksborg described them as „Messing Horn" (brass horns) (Skovholm 2005).

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Hence, they were immediately identified as horns, and were compared to modern horns. The antiquarians continued to develop analogies for their understanding of for example which type of horn and their functions. Thus lurs were called hunting horns, and later war trumpets.

Also the name *lur,* first used in 1818 by Christian Jørgensen Thomsen (Johansson 2005: 92), came from analogy. The term lur is found in Norse sagas, where it denoted a signal instrument. We do not know the precise identification of the lur, but it was probably similar to a straight wooden trumpet with the same name, which has been used traditionally by Scandinavian shepherds. This analogy ('bronze lurs'–'Norse saga lurs') is somewhat problematic. The same can be said about the analogies between lurs and modern European brass instruments, which also raise many difficulties. From seeking parallels to the lurs in local instruments (hunting horns), we can end up comparing them with instruments from the other side of the globe (didgeridoo), and it is difficult to know at what point such use of ethnographic analogy is overly speculative and introduces more inaccurate rather than useful comparison.

The point is that analogy has always been used. It is unavoidable, decisive, and central, not only to bronze lurs, but to all archaeological interpretation. To illustrate this view, Ian Hodder (1982: 11), asks, rhetorically, how an archaeologist is supposed to know that "this is an axe" when digging an object out of the ground:

"The answer is, really, that he doesn't. All he can do is make a reasonable guess based on the fact that the object he has in his hand from the past look like axes he has seen in his own or in other contemporary societies […]. Much the same could be said for nearly every other interpretation that the archaeologist makes about the past […]. He has to guess, using analogies."

But we do not need to guess blindly, hoping to find the right object or model for comparison. We should try to have several alternative thoughts, and if necessary work with several analogies. As for bronze lurs, we should primarily have the Bronze Age in mind, with its proper cultural and religious context. Then, we may bring in comparative materials from a number of additional sources, in order to illuminate the interpretations. This is not to reject other possible interpretations, but to supply some additional sources. Analogies, ethnographic or historical, should be integrated with other methods.

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One of the hallmarks of music archaeology is a cross-disciplinary methodology, "where all existing sources and analytical processes of importance are equally integrated" (Both 2009: 3). This diverse and mixed approach, now commonly accepted in the field, is illustrated in models suggested by, amongst others, Both (2009) or Olsen (1990). Olsen operates with four processes, partly corresponding to four principal source groups: the archaeomusicological process, the music iconological process, the historiographic process and the ethnological analogy process. The last one subsumes three subprocesses: iconographic analogy, archaeological analogy, and ethnographic analogy. Notice that only one of Olsen's forms of analogy (the ethnographic) concerns living cultures or traditions. Iconographic and archaeological analogies "deal with parallel ancient artifactual evidence" (Olsen 1990: 177).

Iconographic analogies, in terms of bronze lurs, should include comparison to the rock carvings associated with lurs, not only those depicting actual lur players, but the entirety of them, as well as artefacts such as razors, which are rich in figures and motives important for the understanding of bronze age religion and cosmology (Kaul 1998). What Olsen calls archaeological analogy could consist of a range of ritual artefacts from the Bronze Age, or other ancient horns or lip-reed aerophones, such as the Celtic carnyx, Irish bronze horns, or Egyptian, Israeli and Roman instruments. These instruments show that the bronze lurs were not completely unique.

The carnyx of the Celts has usually been connected solely to warfare, though the material is sparse, and we do not know much about how it was used. For instance, it is not confirmed whether its animal bell (usually a wild boar) functioned as a psychological contrivance to intimidate the enemy or if it merely had a symbolical or mythological significance. In 2004, French archaeologists excavated seven carnyxes from the sanctuary of Tintignac, in the department of Limousin. They were split into fragments before they were buried with weapons and other war equipment, perhaps offered to the Celtic god Teutates (Maniquet 2008). The circumstances of the offering were different than the offerings of Bronze Age lurs, but there is still a similarity, musical instruments of the trumpet family being ritually offered, suggesting that they were important and cherished objects.

The possible relation between lurs and carnyxes is not certain. The same can be said about lurs and the Irish bronze horns, though their dates overlap much more with the lurs. While the period of the Scandinavian lurs was circa 1300–600 BC, the Irish horns—of which a total of 104 examples still exist (Coles 1963)—are dated from

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circa 900 to 600 BC. They are still considered to have developed independently (Lund 1986b: 27). However, there were contacts between Ireland and Northern Europe in this period. Coles (1963) suggests that the reason for the differences between the large S-shaped Scandinavian horns and the smaller, only slightly curved Irish horns was two different breeds of cattle. According to Coles, the aurochs species *Bos longifrons* had horns resembling the Irish instruments, while *Bos primigenius* had twisted and curved horns, resembling the Scandinavian lurs (from the Iron Age, however, S-shaped horns are found also in Ireland; they are referred to as *trumpa*). Following this theory, a connection between musical horns and animal horns may have been a common feature in Scandinavia and Ireland.

Besides Coles (1963; 1965), Skjerne (1949) and O'Callaghan (1983) have suggested a bull cult as part of the origin bronze lurs. The argument is that totemic ideas of the ox was ancient already in the bronze age, and continued, from instruments made of real ox horns to instruments cast in bronze. It may explain the idea of symmetry, manifest in the pairs of lurs, which might be interpreted as symbolic expression of animal's horns. O'Callaghan (1983) made some experiments using one of the original Brudevælte-lurs, and produced a glissando effect that he thought resembled the sound of a bellowing bull. Moreover, there are several horned symbols from the Bronze Age, which derived from the cult of the bull. This is a general feature from all over Europe. From Denmark, the helmets from Viksø, equipped with large stylized horns, are well known. However, from period two of the Nordic Bronze Age the horse increasingly develops a special importance in religion (Kaul 2004: 30). This indicates that the bull, which was an important animal with great symbolical value already in Neolithic times, perhaps gradually loses importance during the Bronze Age. At least, we should distinguish between the theory that the origin of the lur is found in a bull cult and the idea that the Bronze Age people performed bull praising rituals with bronze lurs, throughout the entire period.

Other traditions also feature pairs of brass instruments. Trumpeters from ancient Egypt are often portrayed in pairs. Their instruments, called *sheneb,* were used in military processions, but there are also sources showing these straight trumpets used for dance accompaniment. Two examples from Tutankhamon's grave are well known. According to Wade-Matthews (2009: 162), the Egyptian trumpets were made and played only in the worship of Osiris. The Israelites adopted the Egyptian trumpet. It was part of the insignia of the Hebrew priests, who used pairs of silver trumpets

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to be played in certain rites of the temple. They were called *hatzotzerahs,* and are mentioned several places in the Bible. In the Book of Numbers, Moses is instructed to make two hatzotzerahs of silver, from one whole piece of material. These sacred trumpets represented the power of God, and had a special place among the instruments of the ancient Isralites. Also the Assyrians had a similar trumpet, played in pairs. Another relative to these instruments is the Greek *salpinx,* also a war trumpet. The Roman trumpet instruments, the *cornu, tuba,* and the *buccina* were all military instruments. The Etruscan-Roman *lituus* was a ritual and ceremonial instrument, sometimes considered to be a forerunner of the alphorn. In Etruscan and early Roman representations it is especially depicted in funeral processions, whereas in later Roman literature it is described as a military instrument (McKinnon 1984).

These ancient trumpets do not have much in common with the bronze lurs. We learn, however, that the playing of trumpets in pairs was common, and that this was not only limited to horns with resemblance to animal horns. Moreover, that these instruments are chronologically later than the bronze lurs, and that they represent other social structures, restrain their significance as analogies. Modern instruments may be equally important. The following section will discuss briefly some contemporary instruments that might have some relevance to bronze lurs.

The *shofar* could be considered to be a historical parallel, since it is appears in the Bible. It replaced the *hatzotzerah* as a religious instrument, and has been used continuously in Jewish communities. This horn has deep ritual and cultic meanings, but it has also been used for secular signalling in various ways. Today the shofar is mostly used in ceremonies such as *Rosh Hashannah* (Jewish New Year) and *Yom Kippur* (the day of atonement).

An instrument often compared to bronze lurs is the *dung-chen.* It is a long metal trumpet known from Tibet and adjacent areas with Buddhist influence (Helffer 1984). The instrument is also known as *rag-dung* and by a number of other names, deriving from the design of the bell and the material used. It is straight, with a length of up to more than three meters. The metal is usually brass, sometimes silver. A relative is the metal trumpet *laba* of the Han Chinese. It was introduced to China from India or Persia (Thrasher 1984), and is also found in Mongolia. The use of these instruments is always connected to their Buddhist origin. They are played by masters in temples, for morning and evening calls from the roofs of the monasteries and in the temple rituals, where they take part in ensembles with rhythm and wind instruments.

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Traditionally, they were also tools for healing. Some types of illness could be cured by strong and vigorous playing on the *dung-chen,* which were thought to exorcize the demons causing the disease (Sommarström 1986: 227).

The *dung-chen* is played in pairs, where the two instruments are tuned to the same fundamental note. The performers play simultaneously, but they breathe differently, thus producing an almost continuous sound, in the form of a deep and powerful drone. One can however recognize the two performers, who articulate the sound individually, by means of timbre, intensity and pitch. The analogy between *dung-chen* and Scandinavian bronze lurs is not due to cultural and social similarities, but to the usage of the instruments. They are both lip-vibrated instruments of metal that are played in pairs. Both produce deep fundamental notes. Without making further cultural comparisons, the *dung-chen* as a ritual sound tool seems closer to bronze lurs and a better model than modern musical instruments of the brass family, even if the lurs technically and acoustically are capable of playing modern music.

Another parallel is the *nafir,* a copper trumpet found in the Arabic world. It is used as a signalling instrument in Islamic religion, for instance to awaken the faithful during Ramadan. Like the *dung-chen,* the *nafir* is used in pairs. The instrument spread to Europe via Spain in the early Middle Ages, and eastwards to India (Conner/Howell 1984). In Iran, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan there is also a straight trumpet made of copper and brass, the *jez kernei* (its relative, the *muyuz kernei,* is made of a goat horn). The function of this instrument seems to be signalling and notification of festivals and other occasions. There is no information of uses in particular religious rituals.

The metal trumpets mentioned so far are straight. Among the curved examples the s-shape, like the bronze lur, is the least common. In India, however, there are s-shaped varieties, found in every corner of the continent, and known by a variety of names, such as *ramsinga, ransiga, narsiga, vansingha, tutari, turi, konakombu, bargu* and others (Deva 1987: 97). They are made of brass, copper or silver, and the length ranges upwards from about 115 centimetres. With their large appearance, they are not unlike the bronze lurs. However, there is no information to suggest that they are played in pairs. The ramsinga of the northern parts of India (Hardgrave/Slawek 1997: 129–131) is covered with red varnish. According to Curt Sachs (1940: 48) this is done in order to augment the magic power of the instrument, and is also found in European military trumpets. The Flemish painter Baltazard Solvyns (1760–1824),

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who lived in Kolkata from 1791 to 1803, wrote that the *ramsinga* was used to open and close great markets (Hardgrave/Slawek 1997: 129–131). In ancient times it was used by soldiers, as a means to issue directions to troops in the battlefield. The instrument is sometimes referred to as a war trumpet. In the state of Bihar it is played at weddings and martial dances, with other instruments *(ibid.)*.

In addition to the s-shaped horns, there are other trumpets from India that could be taken into account here. The semi-circular, *kompa (kompu, kombu),* distributed in South India and Sri Lanka, is played in pairs (Reck 2000: 361). They are used for village signalling, military band music, and in ensembles playing at religious ceremonies in temples. In Sri Lanka the *kompa* takes part in both Hindu and Buddhist ceremonies.

These metal trumpets have various things in common with the bronze lurs, primarily their shape and acoustic potentials. Their functional and cultural diversity—in religion and ritual, signalling, celebration and feasting—might have some relevance but is more difficult to relate to. Notice that some of the instruments are used for a variety of purposes, and that the function often has changed in the course of time. Common to them is that in various ways they are integrated in the communities in which they are found, and are never used exclusively to make aesthetical and autonomous sound, corresponding to the western concept of music.

This is also true for another non-European long trumpet used for comparison to bronze lurs, the didgeridoo of Northern Australia. However, in addition to its use in ritual ceremonies, open and closed, the didgeridoo is used for accompanying secular songs (Jones 1984), perhaps somewhat closer to the modern understanding of music. It is also used for dance accompaniment. The player, always male, is carefully picked from the local community. He devotes the rest of his life to the profession of playing the didgeridoo. Circular breathing is applied, producing the continuous drone sound. Musical variation in the tone-colour and rhythm in the production of sound are important, even if the instrument plays only one drone of a constant pitch *(ibid.)*.

Building on the experiments conducted by Peter Holmes in the 1970s, player and researcher of Irish bronze horns Simon O'Dwyer has since the 1990s developed and advocated a playing style on ancient horns inspired from didgeridoo-playing (O'Dwyer 2000; O'Dwyer/Kenny/Creed 2002). This style has also influenced contemporary bronze lur playing. There is a long distance from Northern Australia to Southern Scandinavia, and this is a problematic analogy. Still, despite the

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geographical, temporal and cultural distance, there might be some relevant parallels in terms of acoustics and playing technique. O'Dwyer, Kenny and Creed (2002: 196–197) point to acoustic design as a sheared feature between bronze horns and didgeridoos, in their twofold classification lip-reed instruments:

"Class 1 is defined as horns with an open mouthpiece. This means that when a fundamental note is played the entire instrument vibrates to the frequency of that note. Existing instruments in this family are large sea snail shells, wooden, bronze and animal horns and didgeridoos. This family is not designed to play melodies, but rather rich tone and harmonic alteration on a fundamental note. Class 2 wind instruments have a choked mouthpiece. This allows a player to produce many notes which are then amplified by the instrument. This family includes alp horns, French horns, trombones, trumpets and tubas. These instruments prevail in the newer more dominant melody-oriented traditions of modern music."

Faulkner (1986: 222) suggests that the drone sound found in the didgeridoo makes a psychological effect that might be linked to the bronze lurs: "[…] there is reason to believe that the drone sound produces an emotional excitement in the psyche of the primitive, as well as in that of modern man, which may be akin to what we hear in the music of the lurs when they are sustained alternately". Following this line, we could also ask if the drone was an intentional effect shared by the ancient trumpet instruments that were played in pairs. One indication is found in a biblical description (1 Chronicles 16:6) that gives an instruction from king David that two trumpets should be played "continuously" (Burgh 2006: 30–31).

Commonalities within the Trumpet Family

All these instruments reveal a variety of functions, both ritual and non-ritual. But are there any general characteristics of instruments in the trumpet family with regard to sound symbolism? Do trumpets have something in common, which can elucidate their cultural significance? From a cross-cultural perspective, trumpets do not symbolize one definite thing, at least if we consider the totality of trumpet instruments in the world. There are lots of lip-reed aerophones of various materials, designs

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and with a diversity of uses. Among shell trumpets there are a notable variety of functions, magic and non-magic.

Nonetheless, one characteristic shared by many trumpet instruments is their use in magic rituals. Sachs (1940: 47) emphasizes circumcisions, funerals and sunset rituals "when the reappearance of the life-giving star is imperilled". As examples of the latter he mentions the Swiss alphorn, which is traditionally played at sunset. As another European example, Sachs brings up long wooden trumpets, which are played in funerals in Rumania. Moreover, in Western armies, signalling trumpets and bugles have an important function in funerals, as well as at sunrise (reveille) and sunset rituals. These ceremonies can be interpreted at modern rituals with ancient roots. There is, perhaps, a continuity in these ritual practices. A common feature is transition, where something or someone moves from one category to another. But again, this is not the meaning of all instruments in trumpet family. What is more, instruments are sometimes used for several purposes, and they might have more than one meaning.

Large trumpets and horns produce a loud sound. The intensity and depth of the sound itself communicates strength and power. Or is this wrong? The meaning of all sounds and instruments arises from cultural construction. The dilemma is that on one hand, we can only say something about cultural significance on the basis of cultural construction, that is, from the construction in the culture under consideration. When claiming that an instrument means something specific, one must know the particular historical and cultural reasons that they mean what they mean. On the other hand, there is some iconicity in certain sounds, leading to aspects of meaning that more or less give universal responses. An instrument with a loud sound will more likely communicate "strength", than, for example, "romance" and "courtship".

When functioning as military signal instruments, we should expect that the sound of large metal trumpets expresses power, although there may also be functional reasons for loud instruments (the sound should be heard over a large distance to a large group of people.) This does not bring us much further with regard to the bronze lurs as ritual instruments. However, from archaeological data it is fairly clear that the lurs belonged to the upper strata of the Bronze Age society and therefore communicated authority and power. Probably only people with adequate means arranged and controlled these instruments, their manufacture as well as their use as sound tools.

Still, one feature pertaining to trumpets remains universal. They seem to be exclusively played by men (*ibid*.: 48). The circumstantial evidence for bronze lurs

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being a male instrument is the rock carvings, which seem to depict men performing on them (Lund 2005: 61).

Ritual, Performance and Religion

For archaeologists ritual has often been used to label something "odd" in the sense "not understood" (Hodder 1982: 171). With ancient musical instruments, we see something of the same, that ritual is a description applied as a collective term when something is not understood, or at least, when the use and cultural meaning of the instrument is not clarified. Another usage of ritual is when we consider an instrument to be non-musical, in the sense not conforming to "music" in the conventional, western meaning. Descriptions of bronze lurs as being "not real musical instruments, but used in cultic contexts" (Magnus/Myhre 1995: 95) are sometimes found, and they might be neutral and "true" statements. From another point of view, the label "ritual/cultic sound tool" might imply a lower cultural value than "musical instrument", which is often associated with the domain of art. This was probably the case with the early scholars, such as Hammerich, who insisted that the lurs were complex musical instruments that produced a refined, agreeable sound.

However, it might be difficult to distinguish between ritual and music. These categories are indeed overlapping and intertwined, because music always involve some ritual aspects, and if a sound is used for a ritual purpose, it is very problematic to decide when the sound is "musical" and when it becomes "ritual".

In the same way, the distinction between ritual and non-ritual activities and objects might also, sometimes, be blurred. Actually, ritual has many meanings. The point is not what ritual really means, but how we use it. It is an interpretive tool for structuring and interpreting our world (Bell 2009: 267). Rather than ritual used as a noun, we should think of ritualization as something we do, as a basis for social life (*ibid.*: 169). A crucial component of ritual actions with music is performance.

Performance is not only a way of presenting music, but could be seen as an inseparable part of music. In some respects, music, performance, and ritual might be considered to be synonymous concepts. In this perspective, we not should look at music as an isolated phenomenon. Performance activities create a sense of a condensed totality, through a multifaceted sensory experience (*ibid.*: 161). Furthermore, music should always be treated as a non-autonomous thing, as an inseparable

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part of its cultural context. Especially in societies with oral tradition, music is a place where worldview and the core of culture are performed and unfold. This is an ethnomusicological teaching that provides an important theoretical and methodological background to the study of ancient music and musical instruments. In the history of ethnomusicology, the study of music in its cultural context has been among the basic ideas, since Alan Merriam's dictum "music in culture" (Merriam 1964). Steven Feld (1982) showed a full integration of music and other cultural topics in his monograph about the Kaluli people, where he advocated the study of "music *as* culture".

If we assume that bronze lurs were ritual sound tools taking part in performances that expressed central cultural themes and values, what kind of rituals and performances were these? They were probably more sacred than secular, and played a role in Bronze Age religion. The main reason for believing that bronze lurs were sacred and religious ritual instruments is that they were deposited intentionally in a way indicating offering, and that they were deposited in pairs.

The archaeology and iconography of the South-Scandinavian Bronze Age displays a rich religious world. The offering finds, of swords, helmets, axes, and jewellery indicate some religious activity, perhaps ceremonies. The same pertains to the rock carvings, which show a diversity of forms, figures, ships, animals and humans, thought to perform religious rituals, including bronze lur playing. Sun symbols appear frequently, leading to the interpretation that the sun was essential in the cosmology of the Bronze Age. The Danish archaeologist Flemming Kaul at the National Museum in Copenhagen has studied Bronze Age iconography in detail (Kaul 1998; 2004). He interprets the many motives, especially on razors, with ships, horses, fish and snakes, as a kind of cartoon that illustrates the cycle of the sun. When a ship sails from left to right, it is day, and the sun is depicted. When sailing from right to left, the sun is not depicted, because they are night-ships travelling back to their point of departure in the morning. This is the same with the famous "Chariot of the Sun", from Trundholm (displayed in the National Museum in Copenhagen), which have one day-side, facing right, and one night-side, facing left. It carries the sun across the sky, ensuring its eternal motion. Animals and other figures with symbolic meaning take part in this cosmology.

If we accept this interpretation it is tempting to imagine that the bronze lur players participated in calendar rituals or celebrations, with the aim of ensuring cyclical renewal and continuity, in other words to maintain the cosmological order.

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A use of lurs in rituals connected to the sun is further strengthened by the end plates of the instruments, which might represent solar disks. There is little concrete evidence of the possible use of bronze lurs in sun worshipping rituals. Flemming Kaul, however, has some views about this, which he bases on his research into Bronze Age religion and cosmology. In a Norwegian television series about archaeology in the spring of 2013 he thinks out loud and plays with these ideas:

"I believe that the rituals the lurs were used for, aimed at honouring the sun, or in one way or another to control the movement of the sun. We see that the end plates might represent solar disks. It is a wonderful idea that the sound—coming out of a picture—is a representation of the sun itself. This is therefore worshipping of the Sun God, in some form. Furthermore, I have an idea that these rituals took place at night, just before the sun rose. Then one stood up and played the lurs. The sun is still down in the underworld, and these hours before the sun rises are the most dangerous for the sun, since something might stop it. And to stop the sun is extremely dangerous, as it means the end of the world, when the sun will never rise again. But if it can avoid the obstacles and rise—then the world will go on and everything will be fine. I believe that humans stood on the earth and played the lurs, so that the sun could find its way through the hindrances. The sun can hear people calling through the lur, and at the same time the lur has the solar disc. Consequently, the sun is calling itself through the people, and therefore it can rise—always—and the cosmological order is maintained. The lurs balances the cosmos." (Kaul 2013, transl. by author)

Though not direct comparable to these ideas about bronze lurs, shell trumpets from ancient Mexico had a cosmological significance and a well-defined role in Aztec temple rituals (Both 2007). The sound of these shell trumpets *(tecciztli, quiquiztli)* had a mythological significance, connected to fertility, the moon and the underworld of water. Even temples dedicated to the shell trumpet were built *(teccizalo),* demonstrating the importance of this instrument. The common feature between these shell trumpets and Kaul's bronze lurs is the important place of musical instruments, more specifically trumpets, in the middle of central, cosmological rituals. Furthermore, other analogies might be searched in mythologies and cosmologies practicing sunrise or sunset ceremonies, or worshipping solar deities, either within the large religions or within smaller tribal groups. Like earlier scholars of the Scandinavian Bronze Age,

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Kaul is inspired by ancient Egyptian religion. The parallel to Egypt especially regards the sun's travel across the sky during daytime, and its return at night. This circle is part of a recurring phenomenon in a life-giving process. In Egyptian cosmology, this can also be connected to resurrection and the belief in an afterlife. If the Egyptian trumpets really were played in the worship of Osiris (Wade-Matthews 2009: 162)—the god of the dead, the underworld and the afterlife—there is also a musical connection here, between Kaul's bronze lur ritual and Egyptian musical rituals.

Additionally, there is the general connection between death and afterlife and instruments of the trumpet family. As earlier mentioned, these instruments are often used for funerals. Perhaps this transition rite points to a plausible use of bronze lurs, which does not exclude the possibility of use in sun worshipping rituals, but—as we have seen—rather supports this theory.

Regardless of what kinds of rituals we imagine with the lurs, more questions could be asked, about who played the instruments, and about the relations between the performers and the other participants in the rituals. Which persons were allowed to handle the lurs, for instance during transportation? The instruments might have been sacred, worshipped and even secret objects, that only a few persons were allowed to touch, handle and play (Lund 1986b: 38). Other ancient trumpets were surrounded by a similar secrecy, for instance the Israeli *hatzotzerahs,* which were exclusively temple instruments played by priests (Montagu 1984). Also from ethnographical sources, trumpets, including the Tibetan *dung-chen,* are known to have been secret objects. Sometimes strong taboos are attached to musical instruments. Among certain Amazonian tribes, a women who has seen a trumpet, is killed, according to Sachs (1940: 48).

Another issue concerns the rituals themselves. To which degree were they restricted, formal and rule-governed, following strict arrangements, orders and sequences? We do not know, but could it be reasonable to imagine that the rituals were not so pompous and formal, and that they involved people in communal, participatory celebrations and feast? Perhaps there is a tendency to think of the rituals as very formal and serious. We might focus too much on the playing of the lurs alone, instead of imagining performing rituals involving other ingredients as well. One element would be dance. Dancing and acrobatic figures on some Bronze Age rock carvings indicate that people appreciated dance and bodily movements.

An interesting ethnographic example demonstrating a rich and inclusive performance with several ingredients comes from Uttarakhand in Northern India, where

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people from the Rajput caste perform the *choliya* dance at weddings. Its roots are warrior dances, and it has several elements, such as flashing of swords and acrobatic movements. It is accompanied by drums and other instruments, including the large S-shaped horn *turi,* which is sometimes played in acrobatic positions. People from the local community participate with the musicians and dancers. A video on the Internet (Rawat, *Folk Dances of Uttarakhand*) gives an impression of a feasting scene with sound, engagement and participation from a lot of people. Although the performance is governed by a number of fixed rules, it does not look very strict, formal and serious. The context is far from the Scandinavian Bronze Age, but the point here is merely to draw attention to the possibility that the rituals we imagine also might have contained feasting and joy.

Concluding Remarks

It is difficult to present theories about the bronze lurs and their ritual use and significance. Ethnographic analogies are difficult to use, because there are few cultural and religious parallels between Bronze Age society and contemporary societies. However, several analogies from some selected instrumental traditions and general knowledge of ritual and performance in present and past societies might, in total, be of assistance in our interpretations.

Based on find circumstances as well as knowledge of Scandinavian Bronze Age society and religion, it is very likely that the lurs belonged to the upper classes of the society, and that they were cherished prestigious objects, used in religious rituals. We do not know what kind of rituals they took part in, but following Kaul (2013) it could possibly be calendar celebrations that worshipped the sun, in order to ensure and maintain its cycle, and thus, the cosmological order.

About musical usage we know almost nothing. Still, there are several plausible possibilities for the musical-ritual use of the bronze lur:

(1) Duo instrument with two paired lurs.
(2) Ensemble instrument, for instance with drums and other aerophones, as indicated in rock carvings.
(3) Signal instrument, in combination with ensembles. Parallels are found in Tibet and India, where similar lip-vibrated instruments are used for signalling and are also played in ensembles.

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(4) With singing, with or without other instruments. Accompaniment to religious or epic story telling. Parallels are found in Australia, the didgeridoo.
(5) Together with other performance components, for instance dance.

Finally, one point should be made: Material culture and rock art in Bronze Age Scandinavia was subject to variation, and we should be careful not to expect one single and identical culture or religion in the period (Moberg 1986: 145; Wrigglesworth 2010: 190). Though the bronze lurs belonged chiefly to the southern parts of Scandinavia, they covered a large geographical area. The rituals we imagine, with their sound, setting and significance were not necessarily uniformly applied throughout the geographical area covered by these instruments, but could be subject to regional and local variation, musically and culturally. Furthermore, the rituals might have changed throughout the period of about seven hundred years, when the bronze lurs were in use. It is rather unlikely that they remained the same, as a static expression.

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A Shaman Drum Hammer from the Medieval City of Turku, Finland

By Riitta Rainio

In this paper, I analyze and interpret the T-shaped antler artefact that was excavated from the 14th to 15th century layers of the city of Turku, Finland. On the basis of the basic form, size, use-wear and raw material, the artefact is a drum hammer of Saami origin. Although the ornaments are uncharacteristic of traditional Saami drum hammers, similar type of motifs can be found in another medieval drum hammer from Norway. In the medieval city of Turku, the drum hammer seems to have been in a use that was different from the original shamanistic one. On the basis of the archaeological context, the drum hammer was hidden in the floor construction of a dwelling house, most probably as a gift to the house spirit or some other kind of transcendent being. As similar deposits of sound-related artefacts and instruments can be found in the later Finnish folklore, it is possible to carry on the reasoning further. The hidden drum hammer can be interpreted as a special sound deposit, by which the drumming sound was transported to the other transcendent reality, where it protected the household in an inaudible way.

In 1998, archaeologists unearthed a T-shaped antler artefact (TMM 21816: LU 61) in the centre of Turku, the former capital of Finland (Fig. 1). On the basis of its shape, the artefact was recognized as a drum hammer, a typical instrument of Saami shamans in the past centuries (Seppänen 1999: 60; Ahola *et al.* 2004: 244–245). Using drums and T-shaped drum hammers, Saami shamans fell into a trance, left their bodies and transcended to the spirit world (Itkonen 1948b: 331–348). These noisy shamanistic seances were described by the missionaries, who in the 17th to 18th centuries converted the Saamis to Christianity. During this conversion, most drums and their hammers were destroyed or confiscated and scattered in antiquarian collections around Europe (Manker 1938). Only a few drum hammers were preserved—and later found—in the graves, hoards and sacrificial places of the Saamis (Sirelius 1924; Serning 1956: 94–95; Kopisto 1971; Carpelan 1987; Berglund 2005).

The T-shaped artefact from Turku, however, could not easily be connected with the Saamis nor the shamans. The artefact was found at the heart of urban, Christian

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Finland, within 150 meters of a national Cathedral. Associated finds at the site of Åbo Akademi included ceramics, leather shoes, iron nails, bone beads, spindle whorls, ice skates, wooden pots and remains of domestic animals (Find database: M 147), that is typical material from the Finnish Middle Ages. The drum hammer, as well as the bulk of the associated material, could be dated to the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries (Seppänen 2012: 362, 413–417). The city of Turku had been founded a hundred years earlier at the instigation of the Swedish Crown, Roman Catholic Church and German merchants (Kallioinen 2000: 40–44; Hiekkanen 2003: 45–48).

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the Finns and the Saamis, two Finno-Ugric languages speaking peoples, were living in two completely different worlds (Fig. 2). While the Finns in the South were Christian farmers and subjects of the Swedish Crown, the Saamis in the North were heathen hunter-fisher-gatherers practicing their ancestral religion and means of livelihood. The third Finno-Ugric languages speaking people, the Karelians, traded with the Saamis and taxed them for the Novgorodian Republic (Vahtola 2003: 30, 42–43). The border between Sweden and Novgorod was volatile and open to dispute. Both domains, backed by the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches, tried to gain a foothold in northern Fennoscandia (Luukko 1954: 47–83; Vahtola 2003: 34, 40–43).

In this paper, I aim to analyze and interpret the T-shaped artefact of Turku from the perspectives of music archaeology (or auditory archaeology) and organology, that is the study of musical instruments. There are many questions arising and waiting to be answered. Is the artefact really a drum hammer as proposed by the excavators? Does it fit in typologically and stylistically with the known Saami drum hammers? What was the artefact doing in Turku? Was it used by the Saamis or the Finns, the heathen or the Christians, shamans, city dwellers or visitors of Turku? For shamanism, divination, music making or fun? Or was it confiscated by the church, hidden in the ground on purpose or thrown away into a rubbish heap? As the artefact may represent the oldest Saami drum hammer excavated from the area of Finland, and the only shaman drum hammer ever excavated from an urban, Christian environment, it can shed new light on the history of drumming and shamanism and the relationship between the Saamis and the Finns, heathenism and early Christianity. The artefact can also open up new perspectives on the musical life of the medieval city of Turku, traditionally regarded as the stronghold of Gregorian chant and church music (cf. Dahlström 1995: 23–47). On the other hand, other instrument finds from

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medieval Turku seem to refer to European-style secular music (Dahlström 1995: 58–63; Ermala 2004).

Methods

In autumn 2011, I visited the Museum Centre of Turku and documented the T-shaped artefact by drawing, photographing, measuring and scanning its details under the microscope (Nikon L100). Other artefacts from the same find context (TMM 21816: KP14913, LU 54; M 147, 149B), as well as the find database and the excavation report from the site of Åbo Akademi (Pukkila *et al.* 2000), were studied at the same time under the guidance of conservator Maarit Hirvilammi. At the next stage, I handed the detailed photographs and results of measurement over to osteologists at the Finnish Museum of Natural History, Ritva Talman and Kristiina Mannermaa, who identified the material on the basis of morphology. Unfortunately, the original artefact was not at hand for the identification. To carry out a comparison between the T-shaped artefact and other known Saami drum hammers, I documented all available drum hammers at the National Board of Antiquities and the National Museum of Finland. These 16th to 19th century hammers were eight in number (KM 20837: 27, 21986: 34, 29659; SU 1346, 3577: 26, 27, 5031: 1, 2).

The rest of the known drum hammers, both from Finland (SU 5606: 575; PPM 7133: 7) and from other Nordic countries, were studied through photographs and literature (Manker 1938: 300–346; Serning 1956: 94–95; Zachrisson 1991; Ranta 1998; Berglund 2005). The interpretation of the artefact was greatly helped by archaeologist Sonja Hukantaival's (2006; 2007a; 2007b; 2011) articles on special building deposits, and archaeologist Liisa Seppänen's dissertation (2012), which afforded the first thorough description and interpretation of the stratigraphical layers, contexts and structures at the site of Åbo Akademi. Finally, information on wooden idols of the Saamis was received from archaeologist and Saami researcher Tiina Äikäs.

Comparing the Turku Artefact with Saami Drum Hammers

In regard to size, the T-shaped artefact of Turku seems to be in line with the known Saami drum hammers. The height of the artefact is 12.4 cm, the height of the shaft 8.7 cm and the spread of the arms 10.7 cm. For known Saami drum hammers, these

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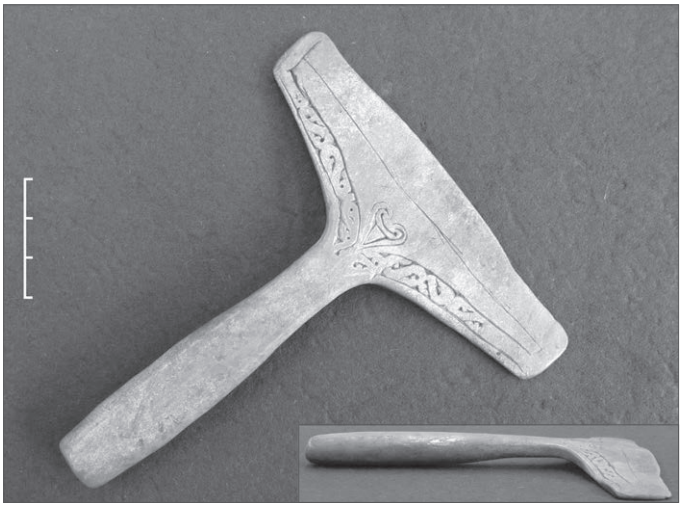

Fig. 1 T-shaped artefact of Turku (TMM 21816: LU 61). Photos by author

Fig. 2 Finland in the 14th–15th centuries. Drawing by author.

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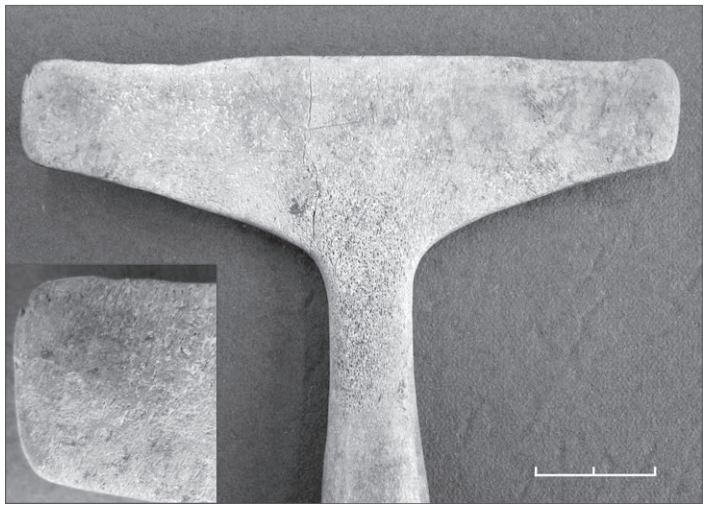

Fig. 3 Use-wear marks on the T-shaped artefact of Turku (TMM 21816: LU 61). Photos by author.

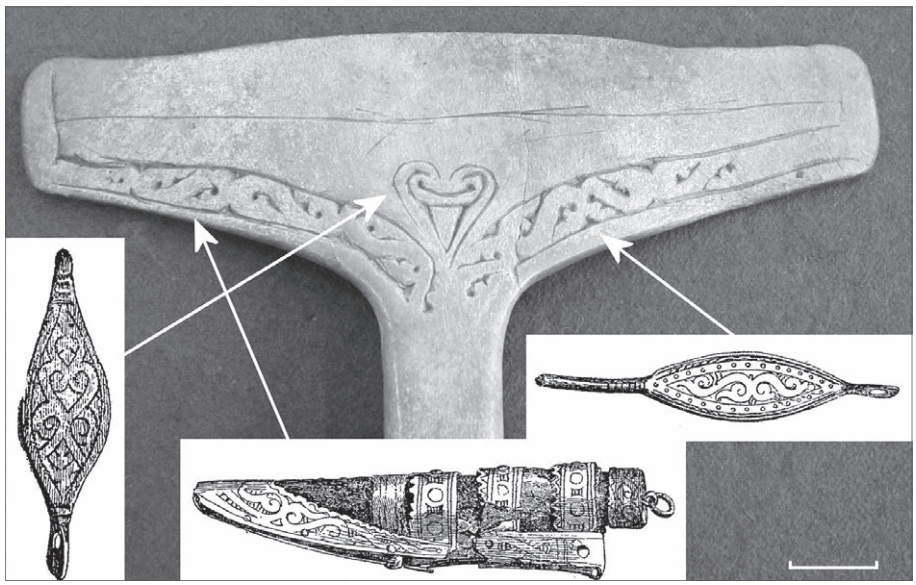

Fig. 4 Ribbon and foliage ornaments on the T-shaped artefact of Turku (TMM 21816: LU 61) and the Karelian metal artefacts. Photo by author, drawings after Schvindt (1893: k. 9, 279, 285a).

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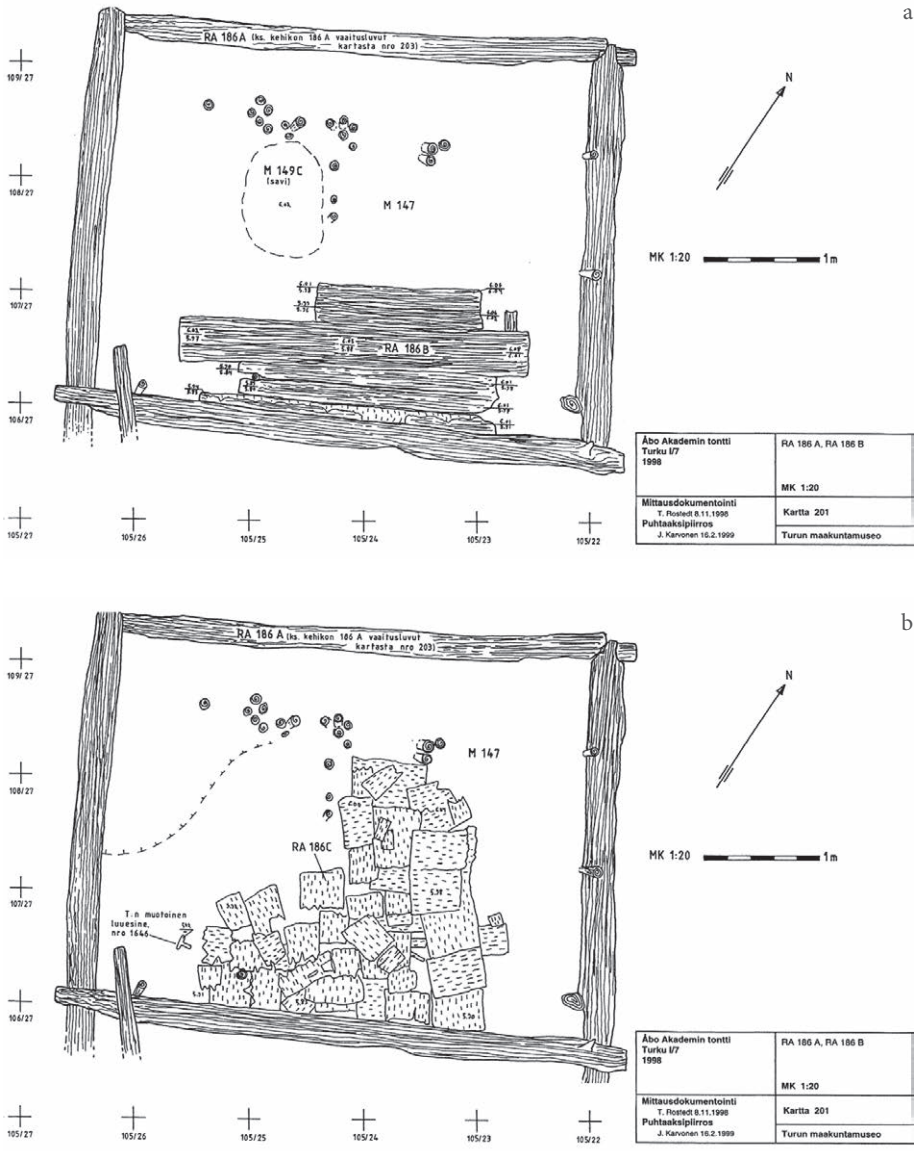

Fig. 5 North-western room of the dwelling house (RA 186). a) the upper layer showing the wooden floorboards, b) the lower layer showing the birch bark insulation and the position of the T-shaped artefact. After Pukkila et al. *(2000: K. 201, 202).*

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Fig. 6 Wooden staff (TMM 21816: KP14913) from the south-eastern room of the dwelling-house (RA 186). Photos by Martti Puhakka/ Museum Centre of Turku.

measurements vary between 8–24 cm, 6–15 cm and 5–15 cm. An anomaly in relation to most drum hammers: however, appears in the arms, which are flat and only 0.2–0.4 cm in thickness. Although 0.5–0.7 cm thick arms can be found in some drum hammers (Manker 1938: Abb. 491–492, 537, 554, 556), in the majority of instances the arms are round, plump and about 1–2 cm in thickness. As to form, they resemble the shafts of the artefacts, that is the parts used as handgrips. In the Turku artefact, the shaft is round, 1.1–1.8 cm thick and perfectly fit to be used as a handgrip. The use of the shaft as a moving pointer (cf. Manker 1938: 349–352, Abb. 572–577) seems thus improbable.[1]

In regard to use-wear, the T-shaped artefact of Turku is also in line with other known Saami drum hammers. In all well-preserved examples, the most well-worn areas occur on the arms, especially at the ends of the arms (cf. Manker 1938: 317–336).

1 The use of the artefact as a scraper or tool for leatherwork (cf. Seppänen 1999: 60) seems also improbable: the long outer edge of the arms – the hypothetical blade – is uneven and less worn than other parts of the arms. In addition, traditional Finnish and Saami scrapers were quite different in form, structure and material (Itkonen 1948a: 310-319; Sirelius 1989: 38–42, T. IV).

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In these cases these areas consist of polish and abrasions; on the undecorated side of the Turku artefact they consist of splits and dark, dirty-looking stains (Fig. 3). According to ethnologist Ernst Manker (1938: 428, Abb. 615–617), the Saamis used to hold and shake the drum hammer in an oblique position, so that the slightly bulging or downward bending ends of the arms hit the membrane. Sometimes only one end in a more perpendicular position was used to hit the membrane. These hits against the membrane, which was greasy and sooty due to the tuning by fire (Manker 1938: 203–205, 425–427), would explain the use-wear pattern and marks found on the artefacts. The hits with only one end, however, could not be realized with the flat arms of the Turku artefact. The use as a handgrip – leather-coated or bare – would explain the polish found on the shaft of the Turku artefact.

The disposition of the engraved ornaments along the arms is the same in all studied artefacts. The motifs, however, differ clearly. While in the traditional 16th to 19th century drum hammers the ornaments are rectilinear and simple, in the Turku artefact they consist of ribbon and foliage ornaments with so-called palmettes and acanthuses (Fig. 4). These ribbon and foliage ornaments, unknown by the 16th to 19th century Saamis (cf. Itkonen 1948a: 521–528), suggest an earlier, medieval dating. More or less similar ornaments can be found in medieval and Iron Age artefacts around Fennoscandia (Holmqvist 1934; Itkonen 1948a: 516–518; Ahola *et al.* 2004: 162, 164), the most notable of them being the 11th to 12th century T-shaped drum hammer from Nordset, Norway (Manker 1950: 442–444, Abb. 155–156; Zachrisson 1991: 86–88).[2] However, exactly similar ornaments with palmettes and acanthuses can be found in the 12th to 14th century metal artefacts from Karelia and north-western Russia (Fig. 4) (Schvindt 1893: K. 8–10, 250–257, 279, 285, 285a; Lehtosalo-Hilander 1985: 380–384). This points to the conclusion that the artefact of Turku originates, in date as well as stylistically, in the Middle Ages and in the regions that had close contacts with the Karelians and the Russians, for example in the Saami areas, which were taxed by the Karelians for Novgorod. As a proof of these contacts, Karelian metal artefacts can be found in the 11th to 14th century sacrificial places of the Saamis (Serning 1956: 95–96, 165–166, T. 1, 3).

An important factor in solving the origin of the T-shaped artefact, is its material. While the shaft seems to follow the natural form of a narrow, slim antler beam, the spongy bone on the arms indicates that these parts were made from a flat, shovel-like fork, which was originally about 1 cm in thickness.

2 The drum hammer from Nordset bears Ringerike-style and plaited band ornaments.

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The shovel-like fork was then ground to make it even flatter. According to osteologists Talman and Mannermaa, the best answer to this description would be reindeer *(Rangifer tarandus)* antler, more specifically the anterior branch, which is flat and curves over the forehead and muzzle of the animal. Although the alternative of elk *(Alces alces)* antler cannot be entirely excluded, making such a slender artefact from massive elk antler would have been very arduous. This result, again, points to the conclusion that the T-shaped artefact is of Saami origin. Reindeer were mostly found in northern Fennoscandia, and used by the Saamis for several purposes. Antlers were used for example to make drum hammers, spoons, knife sheaths and grips (Itkonen 1948a: 501–504; 1948b: 337). At least in some instances, the anterior branch was used for drum hammers (Manker 1938: 312, 324, 330, 344–346, Abb. 492, 537, 561–562). In southern Fennoscandia, as well as in the Turku area, reindeer were almost extinct by the Middle Ages, and seldom used for artefact production (Tourunen 2008: 114–115, 129, 131).

Focusing in on the Find Context

On the basis of the analysis above, it seems reasonable to argue that the T-shaped artefact really is a Saami drum hammer; archaic in relation to ornaments, but typical in relation to basic form, size, material and traces of use. It also seems reasonable to assume that in Turku the artefact was in secondary use. This secondary phase in the artefact's life can be studied more closely by focusing in on the find context, both at a macro and micro level. At the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, the site of Åbo Akademi formed part of the Quarter of Mätäjärvi ("Rotten Lake"), a recently founded quarter on the fringes of the city (Seppänen 2012: 944–946). The population of this quarter consisted of merchants, shoemakers, furriers, tanners, weavers and other artisans (Tourunen 2008: 125, 130–132; Seppänen 2012: 835–837), quite well-to-do, though probably not as rich as the burgher leaders and clergymen at the city centre (Kallioinen 2000: 148–149; Seppänen 2003: 94–95). This distinction is exemplified by the predominance of wooden log houses at the Quarter of Mätäjärvi and the relatively larger number of stone and brick houses at the medieval centre (Seppänen 2003: 99–100; 2012: 648, 660–670). Judging from ceramic finds, the population at the centre could be German in origin (Pihlman 2010: 86–88). The immediate surroundings of the drum hammer find consisted of wooden structures, all of which can be

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dated dendrochronologically to the turn the 14th and 15th centuries. These structures include a dwelling house with two rooms (RA 186), a courtyard with wooden pavement, an outbuilding and a workshop with water barrels, a water-drainage system and traces of tanning and skin processing (Pukkila *et al.* 2000: 62–67, K. 316: 1, L. 6: 213–239, Seppänen 2012: 307–310, 333–337, 342–356, 359–365, 374–383, 401–420, 836, 902, K. 283).

The drum hammer was found inside the dwelling house (RA 186), which had been built at the end of the 14th century and abandoned circa 1429, at the time of a major fire in the city (Seppänen 2012: 406–417). According to the excavation report and maps (Pukkila *et al.* 2000: 62, K. 201, 202, 203: 1), the drum hammer lay in the north-western room of the house, under the wooden floorboards, among the birch bark insulation of the floor (Fig. 5). The aim of these birch bark sheets, 50 x 70 cm in size, was to insulate the floor from humidity. Since the remains of a dismantled fireplace were found under the birch bark sheets, it seems clear that the floor with its insulation did not represent the first building present, but a later alteration. This alteration work, giving a dating to the drum hammer find, could have taken place sometime in the beginning of the 15th century (Seppänen 2012: 417).

Curiously enough, another extraordinary artefact was found in the same dwelling house (RA 186), in a nearly identical context. A wooden anthropo-zoomorphic staff (TMM 21816: KP14913) lay in the south-eastern room of the house, under the wooden floorboards, close to the birch bark insulation of the floor or neighbouring fireplace (Karvonen 1999: 53–54, K. 6–7; Pukkila *et al.* 2000: 63, K. 203: 2, 209, 212, L. 6: 239, M. 149; Seppänen 2012: 414–417). Since the remains of an older floor were found under the staff, it seems again clear that the find context of the staff did not represent the first stage of construction of the building, but a later alteration, probably from the beginning of the 15th century (Seppänen 2012: 417). The staff is unique in the archaeological record of Finland and full of intriguing details (Fig. 6), such as carved ornaments on the face, polished and darkened lips and cheekbones, parallel cuts, a groove, a North European-style sign of the owner (cf. Itkonen 1948b: K. 409–410; Kolchin 1989: Pl. 24–25; Sirelius 1989: K. 689) and a strong odour of juniper *(Juniperus)* wafting around.

The artefact resembles wooden portable idols that were placed in the depository shelters of the Saamis and worshipped by kissing the face (Ravila 1934: 83–85; Itkonen 1948b: 314–315). It also resembles wooden domestic idols that were placed

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in the 10th –14th century dwelling-houses of Novgorod, and were decorated with multi-coloured bands in a groove (Kolchin 1989: 191–196, Pl. 200–208; Pokrovskaya 2007).[3] Although comparable in size and form, these wooden idols were not made of juniper, nor was juniper used in medieval ecclesiastical sculpture (Vuola 2000). However, in the Finnish and Saami folk tradition, juniper flakes and smoke were used in prophylactic magic and healing (Rantasalo 1937: 117–118, 141–142, 171, 179, 186–187; Itkonen 1948b: 449, 453, 467–468).

The two-fold occurrence emphasizes the find context of these artefacts and raises a question about its meaning. It seems improbable that the drum hammer and the staff would have fallen accidentally through the cracks of the floorboards, because they were too large for that and too remarkable to be left under the floor. The artefacts were hardly stored there for later use, because it was rather difficult to bring them out again. To do so one would have to raise the 35 x 9 cm broad floorboards and muddle the carefully arranged, overlapping birch bark sheets (cf. Seppänen 2012: 407). Besides, other parts of a drum, indispensable for making a usable set, were not found in this context; not even metal rings and fittings that were typical of the Saami drums and would have been preserved by the ground (cf. Manker 1938: 267–283, 355–364). Nor were the artefacts discarded in a normal way by throwing them into a rubbish heap. On the contrary, everything in the find contexts points to the conclusion that the artefacts were deliberately deposited in their place. According to archaeologists Hukantaival (2006: 91–92; 2007a: 67) and Seppänen (2012: 414–417), they can be interpreted as special building deposits, artefacts deliberately deposited in the structures of a building as gifts or offerings to transcendent, other-worldly powers and beings (Osborne 2004; Hukantaival 2007b; Herva/Ylimaunu 2009).

Interpreting the Find as a Sound Deposit

Hukantaival (2006: 91–92; 2007a: 67) discusses the drum hammer find in her master's thesis and articles on the building deposits of pre-modern Finland. These deposits seem to have been fairly common in the medieval and later city of Turku, despite the presence of the Cathedral, bishop's throne and Dominican convent. Other archaeological examples include animal bones and horns in a pit under a 15th century floor, a goat skull next to a 14th to 15th century boundary mark, an edge tool inside a 14th century fireplace,

3 The artefact also bears a resemblance to the wooden zoo/anthropomorphic staffs of Siberia, which served as shamans' mounts during the seance (Harva 1933: 325-326, 356-357, K. 64, 100; Hoppál 2003: 137-139).

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and a knife and two whetstones under a 17th century floor (Hukantaival 2006: 84–87, 90–91, 93–94, 107; 2007a: 66–67, 72, T. 1; 2011: 49). Similar building deposits are also mentioned in Finnish ethnographical sources, where the examples include animal bones, iron tools, cattle and horse bells, thunderbolts, guns, bullets, gunpowder, Bibles, and hymnbooks or their pages, which may be placed under a floor, threshold or footing, or on a wall, corner or ceiling (SKMT, Vol 4: 222–223, 225, 329–336; Rantasalo 1937: 163, 169–170, 194–195, 199–203). The buildings in these examples are mainly 19th and early 20th century cowsheds and stables. According to informants, the deposited artefacts, as well as pieces of them, were powerful tools that shed their power on the building and its guardian spirit, when they were deposited in critical, liminal spaces such as entrances, outer boundaries or fireplaces, where the spirits stayed or resided (Waronen 1898: 190; Hukantaival 2007b: 26–29). Iron tools and bells strengthened the building with the power of iron, thunderbolts, firearms and bullets with power of fire, and Bibles and hymn books with the power of Christianity. The animal bones, representing the power of these animals, transformed into the guardian spirits that protected the household by driving away ill-willing outside powers (Hukantaival 2006: 37–39, 109–110). Beliefs like this relate to a wide European tradition and follow the logic of so-called sympathetic magic (Frazer 1992: 11–48; Hukantaival 2006: 37–50; 2007b).

According to the 17th to 20th century ethnographical sources, similar powerful tools were also carried in several calendar and initiation rituals aimed at protecting the cattle, cowshed, stockyard, pastureland and farm. In this related context, interestingly the sound-related tools or instruments were used for sound production. Bells were rung, guns fired and hymns and prayers sung in a resounding voice (SKMT IV: I: 63, 244, 316, 316b, d, 340b1, d, k1, IV: V: 86–128; IV: VI: 135, IV: XI: 76, 163; Rantasalo 1937: 192–193; 1945: 35–36, 84–103, 116–128; 1947: 21–63). This metallic, loud and verbal noise gave an acoustic form to the powers of iron, fire and Christianity and protected the homestead acoustically (Rainio 2005; 2010: 168–175). Together with odorous substances, it made the communication with spirits multisensual. When the sound-related tools and instruments were later buried or left in the pastureland, mixed with nutriment and given to cattle, or deposited in the cowshed or stable (SKMT IV: V: 96, 110–116, 124–127, 133d7, 149–227, 172b–p, IV: VI: 230, 967–971, 983–985, 1178–1180, IV: VII: 171), this left a reference to the sound being still there. The deposited instruments and their pieces transported the powerful noise

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to another, transcendent reality, where it continued to protect the homestead in an inaudible, but effective way. This transformation of sound into transcendent form is exemplified by cases where food containing bell scraps was given to cattle while saying: "Listen to this sound!" (SKMT IV: V: 155–156, 158), "Remember to follow this sound!" (SKMT IV: V: 128m, 172n1). According to the informants, this way the cattle "drank the bell sound into their blood" (SKMT IV: V: 192e13).

Although not exactly the same as these aforementioned tools, the drum hammer and the wooden staff can be interpreted by following the same logic and principles of sympathetic magic. The drum hammer can be interpreted as a powerful tool that can be a *pars pro toto* representing the whole drum, its drumming sound, a drumming shaman and shamanistic seance. The staff also referred to some kind of communication with the spirit world. Together these artefacts conjured up a guardian spirit that protected the dwelling house (RA 186) by extraordinary means, including a prophylactic drumming noise and through the special properties of the staff. The sound was audible and active in another, transcendent reality, unceasingly and without any effort. Therefore this deposit, as well as the deposited bells, guns, hymnbooks and their pieces in other contexts, can be regarded as special sound deposits,[4] sounds deposited in critical, liminal spaces, in order to be audible in the other reality and to protect there the households from transcendent and other outside attacks. Furthermore, it seems that the traditional soundscape in Finland, both in the countryside and the city, comprised not only physical, audible sounds, but also imaginary sounds that were audible in an imagined reality.

Setting the Sound Deposit in the City Soundscape

The interpretation above requires that the new owner of the drum hammer, the owner of the dwelling house (RA 186), knew something about Saami shamans and drums and believed in their magic power. This may appear far-fetched at first, but proves to be conceivable in the light of written sources. According to medieval written sources, the city-dwellers of Turku did have connections with the Saamis and Saami areas in the North. In 1345–1346, the bishop of Turku travelled to the Gulf of Bothnia to carry out missionary work among the Karelians and the Saamis on the Novgorodian side of the border (Luukko 1954: 259–261). Merchants of Turku travelled yearly to the Gulf of Bothnia to

4 "Sound deposits" of pots and skulls, which were built into churches or threshing barns to improve their acoustics, have been discussed by e.g. Merrifield (1987: 121–128).

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carry on trade with the Finnish settlers, who had moved to the region in the 13th to 14th centuries and had begun to tax the Saamis (*ibid.*: 65–70; Kallioinen 2000: 181–184). For many years, the Finns from the inland had been carrying out hunting and plundering expeditions among the Saamis (Vahtola 2003: 30–31, 51, 63). The products sought after on these expeditions were furs, hides and fish and apparently also the services and skills of the shamans. In 12th to 14th century Scandinavian sagas, the Saamis are always depicted as skilful witches, as masters in foretelling the future, changing their form, raising storms and causing injury or even death (Nenonen 1994: 125–140; Thorsson 2001: 204–205, 307–308). In 16th to 17th century legal documents, the Finns are reputed to have the habit of travelling north and asking Saami witches for help in the most difficult and dubious cases (Itkonen 1948b: 344–348; Nenonen 1994: 125–150). In Finland, these unChristian activities did not lead to legal actions until the 16th to 17th centuries, but in Norway, as early as the 12th century, the oldest Christian laws already prohibit Norsemen from going to the Saamis to have their fortunes told (Zachrisson 1991: 88).

It is possible that through one of these exchanges the drum hammer ended up in Turku. It is also possible that it was brought by an occasional Saami visitor or newcomer, who left no traces on the documents. On the basis of the widespread reputation of the Saami shamans, the owner of the dwelling house (RA 186) would have had in his/her possession an especially powerful tool, which could protect the property better than ordinary animal bones and iron tools. A property owner or an artisan at the Quarter of Mätäjärvi could feel a need for extra protection to meet the numerous dangers of the urban environment, such as fires, epidemics, famines, pirates, rival colleagues and crowds of envious neighbours (cf. Kallioinen 2000: 99–101). The urban soundscape too, could appear somewhat oppressive. Most of the merchants spoke German, soldiers and government officials Swedish, and the clergy and Dominicans Latin (Ahola *et al.* 2004: 243). A new type of music, Gregorian chant resounded at the cathedral and the convent, and very loud church bells rang throughout the city (cf. Dahlström 1995: 23–26, 31–45; Hannula & Lehto-Vahtera 2010: 112–123). Via this "sacred noise" the authoritative power of the Church and Crown reached into every nook and cranny (cf. Schafer 1977: 49–52, 76, 273). The drum hammer find can finally be seen in this context. Although protective magic was not forbidden in the medieval city (Nenonen 1994: 193), it was hardly possible to drum or bring a Saami shaman to drum at a building site, under the eyes of the

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bishop and Christian neighbours. That must have been too unChristian, disturbing and noisy. Instead, it was possible and equally effective to hide the drum hammer in the building and let the sound protect the property in another reality, beyond the reach of bishop and neighbours. This "secret noise" can be seen to express some kind of underground resistance, suspicious and expressing a somewhat defiant attitude towards the urban, Christian environment.

Conclusions

In this paper, I have analyzed the physical properties and the find context of this T-shaped artefact of Turku, and drawn conclusions on the basis of these analyses. The size of the artefact, the use-wear on the arms and reindeer antler as probable material seem to affirm that the artefact is a drum hammer of Saami origin. Although ribbon and foliage ornaments on the arms are uncharacteristic of traditional Saami drum hammers, more or less similar ornaments can be found in the oldest known drum hammer from Norway. Like the artefact of Turku, this hammer dates back to the Middle Ages. In the medieval city of Turku, the drum hammer seems to have been in a use that was different from the original shamanistic one. On the basis of the archaeological context, the drum hammer was hidden in the floor construction of a dwelling house, most probably as a gift to the house spirit or some other kind of transcendent being. As similar deposits of sound-related artefacts and instruments can be found in the later Finnish folklore, it is possible to carry on the reasoning a bit further. The hidden drum hammer can be interpreted as a special sound deposit, through which the drumming sound was transported to another reality, where it protected the household from transcendent and other outside attacks. This inaudible, "secret noise", more commonly found in traditional rural environments, lent itself especially well to the hierarchical and congested city soundscape.

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Representations of Dance on Late-Medieval Bosnian Gravestones

By Zdravko Blažeković

On the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in the adjacent regions of Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia, have been accounted over three thousand funeral places with a total of some 70,000 gravestones, known as stećci. *Until recently, the prevailing opinion was that the* stećci *were used by the followers of the Christian sect of Bogomils, a neo-Manichaean sect inspired by the teaching of Mani, a reformer and prophet born in Babylon in AD 216. Newer evidence however indicates that these casket-shaped stone tombs were used also by the Serbian Orthodox and Roman Catholics, and therefore should be seen as a regional cultural phenomenon. The* stećci *emerged in the early 13th century and were carved by the local stonemasons until the early 16th century with the utmost consistency and stability concerning their style and form. Stylistically they follow Romanesque models which inspired a variety of symbolic and mystical decorative elements, many of which remaining enigmatic. They can be classified into several categories according to their function, artistic features, and subject matter (the crescent moon and the sun, chivalrous tournaments and horsemen, hunting scenes, rosettes, vine leaves and grapes, processions of deer, a man with his right hand raised). About 130 examples represent dancers in different line formations consisting of up to twelve dancers, both male and female. Dancers sometimes hold in their hand branches or flowers, and wear masks over their faces. Frequent are tournament scenes combined with line of dancers, and also some scenes combine dancers with a deer. Considering that both visual and textual sources for medieval dances originating from this geographic area are extremely rare these representations are important testimonials about dance practices and its symbolism.*

The phenomenon of medieval Bosnian and Herzegovinian gravestones has held an iconic place in the nation's self-representation since the 1940s and they are often used today as a preferred marker reflecting Bosnian national identity.[1] By its

1 The 1000 kuna banknote of the Independent State of Croatia from 1943 had on its obverse the picture of a *stećak*, and post-World War II Yugoslavia, as well as post-1991 Bosnia and Herzegovina issued postage stamps with the image of a *stećak*. Even when the *Salzburger Nachrichten* (24 July 1993), in the middle of the Bosnian war, was examining Bosnian claims to its renewed statehood in the article "Sind die Bosnier eine Nation?" by Lujo Toncic-Sorinj, the chosen illustrations provided along the article included a *stećak* and outlines of the seals of the fourteenth-century Bosnian ban Stjepan II Kotromanić and king Tvrtko I Kotromanić.

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uniqueness, their art is today not only an easy marker for catching attention, but they also relate the country—whose history has involved negotiating between the Islamic, Eastern Orthodox, and Roman Catholic cultures—to its medieval pre-Islamic roots. In vernacular, they are commonly called *stećci* (singular *stećak*). The distribution of this type of gravestones geographically coincides with the widest extent of the medieval Bosnian state and the duchy of Hum (present-day Herzegovina and Dalmatian coast from Pelješac to the river Cetina) with influences present in the Dubrovnik Republic, western Serbia and Montenegro. The tradition emerged in the early 13th century and they were produced until the early 16th century with the utmost consistency and stability exhibited in style and form. A survey from the 1980s identified about 70,000 preserved gravestones of this type. In Bosnia and Herzegovina 59,539 gravestones were identified at 2,687 locations, in Croatia 4,447 at 247 locations, in western Serbia 2,267 at 121 locations, and in Montenegro 3,049 at 107 locations (Poklečki Stošić 2008: 17). It is estimated that their total number in medieval times was about forty percent higher. There are probably two main reasons for their preservation in such large numbers. Firstly, they are often placed at locations with difficult access. Secondly they used to be associated with magic powers and beliefs, such as that people who deface or destroy them will have misfortune for the rest of their lives or will be attacked by a deadly illness, or that moving the stones will bring on a powerful storm. Although they were carved in stone, the most durable material that medieval sculptors had to work with, they are deteriorating and their ornaments are sometimes hard to recognize today.

Regardless that the *stećci* have an iconic place in the collective memory of the Bosnian (and Croatian) historical and cultural geography, and the bibliography of writings about them is rather long, there has yet to be produced a satisfactory synthesis of their stylistic features and of the changes which occurred on them over the three centuries of their production. Most scholars studying them were concerned with their topographical locations, description, and cataloguing (Bešlagić 1954; 1956; 1960a; 1960b; 1962; 1965; 1969; 1972). Only recently have convincing theories explaining their origin been formulated, and scholarship has not produced the final word about their cultural significance in medieval Bosnia and Hum.

In the mid-19th century a theory was put forward connecting them to a heretical Christian sect, the Bogomils, and the Bosnian church, which developed in this region since the 10th century. The Bogomils called for a return to early Christianity and a

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rejection of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This argument was based on the theory that the Bogomil sect spread in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the identical territory as the gravestones, that the sect flourished roughly during the same period when the stones were produced, and there were also found parallels between the iconography of the gravestones and the religious believes of the Bogomils. However, the Bogomil sect was also present in Bulgaria and Macedonia, where we do not find this type of sepulchral architecture. Also, *stećci* can be found in the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic, which did not tolerate Bogomils, and where most stones are located in the vicinity of Roman-Catholic churches (Ivancich Dunin 2011: 58).

The second theory about the origin of the *stećci* is related to the Vlach population. Also called the Morlachs, Vlachs were nomadic shepherds living in the western Balkans, originating from the Romanized indigenous people of the ancient Roman Illyrian provinces and newly settled Roman military veterans and colonists. Just like the first theory, this one also has its supporters and opponents but lacks a sufficient scientific basis. The archaeological excavations of graves situated beneath the stones have yielded very few objects and little evidence about the status of buried people to support such a theory.

Considering the historical, social, political and statistical indicators, it is today clear that these grave markers belonged to social classes affiliated with all three faith practices in medieval Bosnia and Hum—the Orthodox, the Catholic and the Bosnian churches—with the stone's shape, size, the extent of the decoration, artistic quality, and iconography reflecting the social significance of the deceased and wealth of their family. Persons from the highest social strata could have afforded large stones with elaborate high-quality decorations; less wealthy members of the nobility may have been buried under smaller stones modestly decorated, and persons with even less resources to spend on their final resting place had a stone with just a simple sign or even without any markings. The more ornamented stones are located in the vicinity of fortified towns and courts, which had wealthier populations than remote villages (Lovrenović 2011: 69). Lack of written historical sources from medieval Bosnia and Hum, in addition to the anonymity and timelessness of these markers, today complicate the contextualization and deconstruction of their iconography, making it difficult to understand the meaning of their symbolism in the funeral ritual practices.

As a group, the *stećci* represent among European sepulchral monuments the transformational form between the early medieval anonymity of unmarked graves

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Fig. 1 Stećak *in Hudovo, eastern Bosnia.*

Fig. 2 Stećak *in Radimlje near Stolac, eastern Herzegovina.*

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Fig. 3 Stećak *of Herko (Jerko) Kustružić, today on the grounds of the Muzej Hrvatskih Spomenika in Split, Croatia.*

Fig. 4 Stećak *in Brtonjice near the church of St. Luka, Konavle near Dubrovnik, Croatia.*

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Fig. 5 Stećak *in Radimlje near Stolac, eastern Herzegovina.*

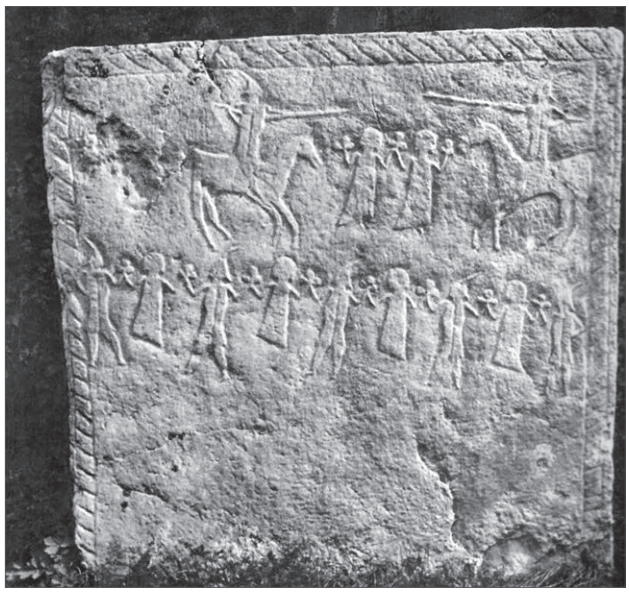

Fig. 6 Stećak *in Borje-Klobuk, western Herzegovina.*

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Fig. 7 Stećak *in Radimlje near Stolac, eastern Herzegovina.*

Fig. 8 Stećak *in Boljuni near Stolac, eastern Herzegovina.*

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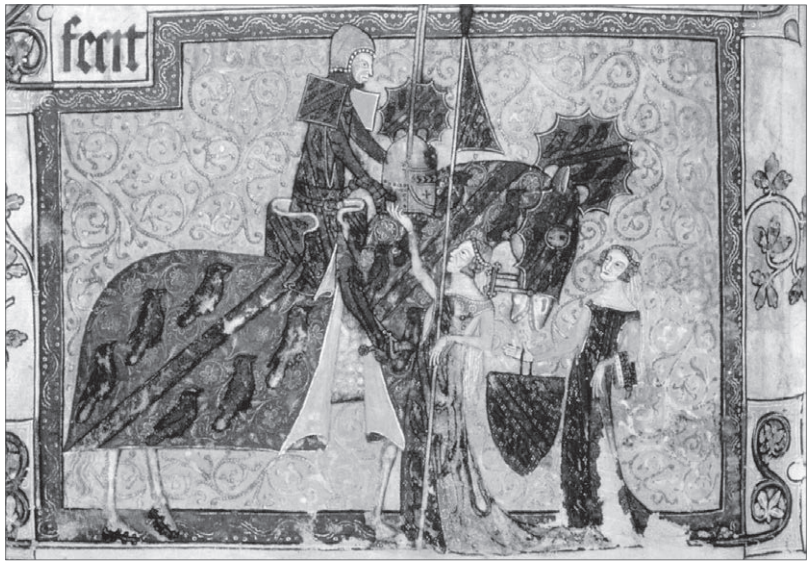

a

b

Fig. 9 a) Sir Geoffrey Luttrell on horseback leaving for tournament, sent off by his wife and daughter-in-law. The Luttrell Psalter (English school, 1325–1335). Velum. London, The British Library, MS Add. 42130, f. 202v. © The British Museum. b) Stećak *in Budimir near Trilj, Dalmatian hinterland, Croatia.*

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and late medieval markers with their metaphoric portraits of the deceased.[2] It is possible that precisely the illiteracy of individuals unable to self-represent themselves with written epitaphs influenced the creation of iconographic concepts carved into the stones, providing us with a rich visual legacy about Bosnian social life, religious believes, and its chivalraic culture.

The *stećci* were carved by the native stonecutters, usually in the vicinity of the cemetery itself. Considering their weight, sometimes reaching dozens of tons, their distant transportation in rigid and mountainous terrain would be extremely difficult. From their carved signatures, thirty-four stonecutters known by name (locally known as *kovači*) have been identified. As medieval Bosnia was not a society of widespread literacy, epitaphs appear infrequently (in today's Herzegovina there are fewer than 200 epitaphs).

There are several main types of *stećci:* the slab, the coffin-like shape, the sarcophagus-like shape, the pillar stone, and the cross. In some burial places all forms appear together, with the form depending on the wishes and the economic means of the deceased and his family. The amount of decoration also varies a great deal because obviously larger gravestones, with more intricate decorations were more expensive. It is estimated that only less than ten percent of all gravestones, or about 4,000 of them, have some kind of carved decoration (Škobalj 1970: 227), and the British art historian Marian Wenzel published in 1965 their definitive catalogue (Wenzel 1965). Many of these stones have decorative elements organized in the form of, what to us appears as, abstract compositions. The simplest are architectural elements combined with grape vine, rope, or spiral. Among the more complex figurative ornaments could be included an apple, grape cluster and vine branches, a tree, a sword with shield, a star, a crescent moon, a hand or arm, and animals (such as birds, deer, horses, dogs, fish or snakes). These motives are usually repeated in the most stylized way, and probably did not have a heraldic role. While simple artistic compositions have decorative ornamentation only along the top, more complex compositions are framed on all sides giving the impression that they have been modeled upon manuscript illustrations, which were at the time frequently presented within a frame articulating the space on the page.

Iconographically the most complex representations involve a particular narrative, and these usually concern three common aspects of chivalry: hunting, tournaments, and riding. The hunter is shown mounted

2 The carving of the name on the grave's marker became in neighboring Dubrovnik obligatory only in the first decades of the 15th century (Petrović 1991: 129).

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on a horse, holding a sword or throwing a spear or arrow at a deer, a wild boar or a bear. He is sometimes assisted by a dog or hawk. In the tournament scenes knights fight with spears or swords. Sometimes shown in their background is an architectural detail or noble ladies observing the fight. There are also scenes showing a knight on the horse led by his page, or a knight departing from a woman.

Dancers are represented in different formations ranging from what may be a single dancer to line formations consisting of up to twelve dancers. They are shown as full-length figures, holding hands at the shoulder height, with leading and ending dancers having a free hand placed at the waist. Women wear long bell-like dresses, and men short tunics with a belt tighten at the waist. The direction of the dance movement is sometimes apparent from the placement of men's feet, the way how they bend their knees, or from the way how the women's skirts are upraised.

These scenes are the earliest representations of dance from the South Slavic areas, and ironically precisely these images make the medieval dance better documented than dance from the 16th century onwards, from which time we do not have any visual sources.[3] However, such rich iconographic resources, in which images are seemingly vivid and realistic, could be at the same time dangerously misleading and puzzling. On one hand, most of their meaning and symbolism has been lost for today's viewers, while on the other, in designing their compositions stonecutters were limited by the shape and size of the stone slab and possibilities of a hard material. In sculpting the stones, they followed certain conventions, traditions, and established a symbolism that we can interpret today with only a limited certainty. Therefore, it is profoundly important in interpreting the iconography on the stones to keep in mind both their symbolic and realistic nature, because it is too easy to make a mistake and attribute realistic qualities to an image which has only symbolic meaning, and possibly could even reflect an imaginary vision of the afterlife. A single person with a raised open hand might appear to us as a dancer and some scholars have interpreted it in that way, but such an image was a frequent topos on the stones and so instead of the dancer we might have here an image where the artist followed certain symbology and conventions. Similarly, a man and a woman holding hands might be a dancing couple, but the composition could be as well a portrait of the couple buried at

3 Authors provide different numbers of dance images on *stećci*. Bešlagić (1987: 2) mentioned "over 130 examples", Ivancich Dunin (2011: 56) "approximately 132"; Wenzel (1965: 352-359) provided 122 reproductions; and Krstonijević (1999: 25), referring only to Bosnian gravestones, said that "among 176 dance scenes 148 motifs show compositions of three to eleven dancers".

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the site (Fig. 1). Looking at the stone showing two couples side by side, we are unsure whether this is a static image of a male couple contraposed with a female couple separated by a decorative ornament, or whether the artist used an open perspective showing two couples dancing face-to-face (Fig. 2)?

The composition of a man leading three women behind could be seen as a dance group, but also as a representation of the deceased followed by his wife and daughters (Fig. 3). A formation of four persons together is frequently represented, but it is unclear that all such representations show dancers. Some dancing groups consist only of women, and some are mixed male and female. Finally, we have representations of longer line formations, where dance movement can be clearly recognized, consisting of alternating dancers of both gender, or lines made-up of the same gender, in what appears to be a scene of dancers facing each other (Fig. 4). Dancers sometimes hold in their hands branches or flowers, and wear masks over their faces (Fig. 5). The end dancer frequently appears to be facing the line, which would indicate that the dancers are moving in an open circular form.

Although today we have to be aware that the stones were exposed to the elements for at least six hundred years and that representations certainly did include more details when they were made, carved figures were always presented with an extreme simplification, verging sometimes on abstraction. It is clear that medieval Bosnian stonecutters intended to show to (mostly illiterate) passers-by the symbolic side of their universe. Nevertheless, even taking all such ambiguities of interpretation into a consideration, these symbolic representations can provide plenty of evidence about individual and collective life and daily activities; sometimes combined with epitaphs underlining the eschatological concerns of medieval Bosnians. Looking at figures in present-day traditional dances we can find certain parallels with the postures of the single female or a couple shown on stones—as Elsie Ivancich Dunin has recently done—but we should not forget also a possibility that these postures might be a result of artistic or symbolic conventions rather than realistic representations of dance movements.[4] Counting the dancers shown on the gravestones is just as counterproductive not only because stonecutters were limited in their designs by the size and shape of the stone slab and guided by their artistic visions, but also because in a chain dance any

4 Elsie Ivancich Dunin has interpreted several such compositions as showing dancers; for example, a couple on the tombstone at Hudovo in Herzegovina (2011: 65, Fig. 3.5), or a man with his raised opened hands accompanied by smaller figures on each of his side on the tombstone from Radimlje in Herzegovina (2011: 66, Fig. 3.7).

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number of participants can usually join in.[5]

The negotiation between realism and symbolism is particularly apparent in complex compositions where perspective is achieved through the superimposition of different horizontal sections. A tournament scene with a line of dancers suggests a scene occurring in front of us, but such reading of the image is deceptive because the composition might be a composite of elements organized by their symbolic significance, particularly since the dancers appear the next time wearing masks (Fig. 6). A different kind of the visual symbiosis between natural and supernatural comes in representations of dancers combined with deer, which could be a line of dancers led by a stag (Fig. 7), a man mounted on the stag's back (Fig. 8) or some other combination.

The stag is a frequent element on stones and it is apparent that its symbolic function is significant in the eschatological context although it is not clear how we should read it. Its rich symbolism can be traced in European cultures back to prehistoric times and spans pagan to Christian practices. Its Judaeo-Christian symbolism emerging from Psalm 42:1 is well known—"As a deer longs for flowing streams, so my soul longs for you, O God"—and indeed, there is a gravestone with iconography which we could read precisely against this attribute: the *stećak* in Mesići, north of Goražde, in southeastern Bosnia (Bihalji-Merin/Benac 1962: Figs. 8-9). However, the appearance of a stag in the context of sepulchral dance should not be interpreted in terms of Judaeo-Christian symbolism but rather referring to pagan traditions that existed on a parallel track. Christianity was introduced gradually into the region between the 7th and the 12th century and it was mainly the religion of the elite flourishing in urban centers. Amongst the rural majority, old Slavic myths continued to remain strong. The Serbian archaeologist Dragoslav Srejović traced the cult of deer in southeastern Europe back to the Paleolithic era. He explained that the deer acquired a special relationship with the soul of the deceased by guiding it to the afterworld, and this reading is congruent with the sepulchral iconography on *stećci* (Srejović 2001). In southern Serbia and Macedonia, dancers with masks featuring deer horns traditionally performed for the health of the people and cattle (Knežević 1969).

5 Concerning the *stećci* in the Dubrovnik area, Ivancich Dunin (2011: 71) writes "the range of dancers on a single stone extends from one to twelve. If this is representative of a past reality, it suggests a maximum of twelve dancers participating at any one time. This is relatively a small number of participants, but it is indeed possible this number does represent reality for both the past and the present because of the population numbers and the physical environment in which dancing occurs." Ivancich Dunin argues that the topography in the Dubrovnik area does not leave large open spaces to accommodate larger formations of dancers.

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It is clear that the dance iconography here has significant and archetypal symbolic meaning, but not all images fall in the same category and we wonder if they show a courtly performance, or a robust exuberant dance associated with old Slavic rural rituals, or maybe even a heavenly *kolo* (traditional circle dance) reserved exclusively for the blessed people? Is the circular form of the Slavic *kolo*—which could not have been shown in such form on the stones although the position of the dance leader sometimes indicates that the dance is moving in a circle—a metaphor for the perpetual life cycle eternally repeating itself and returning to the primordial state of perfection? Could such round dance have a symbolic relation with fertility rituals that have a central place in the Slavic ritual calendar? All of these questions will possibly remain unanswered since there are no medieval Bosnian texts or parallel artworks that could be used as referential indicators to help resolve them. The only clues could possibly point to some rituals still practiced in the region, particularly in southeastern Serbia, although we should always keep in mind that in adopting these modern-day rituals to interprete ancient dances means we are spanning the many hundreds of years that separate the former from the gravestones.

Today, dance is still part of commemorative ceremonies for the deceased among the Serbian and Vlach peoples. In southwestern Serbia, the region adjacent to Herzegovina, and an area that also has preserved *stećci,* people perform in commemorative celebrations for the deceased. The dance called *sitan tanac* (small dance) performed here, has in its first part the purpose to help the soul of the deceased join other ancestral souls, while in its second part to protect the participants from evil forces. With this dance, the relatives of the deceased are establishing a connection with the world of the dead. Its steps are simple; the dancers move in a double rhythm, and the line progresses in the direction contrary to the usual chain dance, which is what gave the dance its alternative name *kolo naopako* (retrograde *kolo*). The dance is performed with a vocal accompaniment not called singing *(pjevanje)*, but rather counting *(brojanje)*. It is possible that the *sitan tanac* originated from the ritual called *tužba* (grieving), also performed during the funeral ceremonies in the area, in which the participants have an opportunity to grieve collectively. This ritual consists of a procession in which the flag bearer is followed by women related to the deceased and then by other relatives. The procession circles in slow steps several times around the grave, but it could also be around the deceased's hat, the socks he used to ware to the market fair, his weapon, or in special circumstances around his horse. In the

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more recent times it is also performed around the photograph of the deceased or even circulating around the woman performing a lament. In all of these performances, the fundamental idea of movement is circling (Vasić 2004). In a different version of the *sitan tanac,* performed also in southwestern Serbia and in Herzegovina during the Carnival night, the dancers move through the arches formed by the raised arms of other dancers, and this way weave and unweave their chain. The motive of walking under the raised arms is considered the symbol of rebirth and renewal (Zečević 1961).

The masks worn by the dancers and flowers which they hold in their hands (Figs. 5-6) might signal parallels with the recent Carnival customs in southeastern Europe in which the participants wear costumes resembling animals. This origin is apparently tied to ancient religious and mythological concepts. The ancient zoolatric cults believed that man after his death turns into its totem, and that the animal costume and the mask, in some circumstances, symbolize his ancestors. Such a relationship between the mask and ancestor cult has been documented in many archaeological excavations in the Mediterranean area, but also among areas inhabited by the Celts and Germans. The ancestors wear masks to attract new inhabitants for their kingdom, to lead children into adulthood, or to transfer to their descendants the knowledge, power, or skills which will make them recognized in society. Therefore zoomorphic masks in Carnival processions could be viewed as dance and music of the afterworld (Lozica 2007: 205).

Among the images of dance shown on gravestones, not one shows a musician, but their absence is not a critical factor in determining whether the representation shows dance or not. Unlike the dance shown in wall paintings of Serbian medieval churches, which involve a significant amount of realism, images on gravestones have highly symbolized meanings, and musicians may not have been important in such context. The other reason could be that a relatively significant number of dances of the Dinaric people have been performed without instruments or only with vocal accompaniment. In the mid-20th century forty types of *kolo* were identified in the area without music accompaniment. These were known as *nemo kolo* (silent or mute *kolo*), in which only jingling jewelry on women's chests provided the aural accompaniment. Their number increased to seventy-eight types by the end of the century (Vasić 2005: 13).

I do not want to imply here that scenes of dance are related exclusively to pagan customs, or a mixture of pagan and Christian traditions, and I would like to bring into focus again the frequent chivalry scenes. For some social or religious groups

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dance might have meant mystic departure from the terrestrial life, but for others it could be a snapshot of favorite courtly activities of the deceased. These images also represent symbolic gates where the earthly and otherworldly lives meet, and could not only be a projection of the deceased's eschatological expectations but also an image in which his or her earthly life is transposed to *memoria* left behind for the family and friends. In the negotiation between the eschatological and the commemorative aspects of one's life, the sepulchral markers used are supposed to reflect on the *stećci* related to the Bosnian chivalric culture the commemorative side has won. Here, the iconography on these *stećci* does not focus on the Christian symbolism about the salvation. The dance does not have *memento mori* qualities of the medieval dance of death. The knight is not shown in his eternal sleep waiting for his resurrection, but he is still present in action. The anonymous Bosnian knight—sitting on a horse with his wife passing to him his lance and shield—was remembered with almost identical *memento* composition as was Sir Geoffrey Luttrell (1276–1345) in the famous psalter produced by the English school in 1325–1335 (Figs. 9a-b). At the two opposite geographical sides of Europe, chivalric archetypes were identical. In a way, the philosophy of the chivalric *stećci* iconography comes closer to Roman sepulchral markers picturing the deceased's biography, often showing his or her portrait and items identifying his or her occupation, than to Christian markers, which are weighed down by the eschatological story of resurrection and salvation. This has changed only in rare cases when the stone also bears an epitaph, among which we do find religious formulas, references to hope in salvation, and moral messages.

As we have already pointed out, what makes this iconography particularly hard to interpret is that we are dealing with profoundly unique compositions, originating from a time when we have no written sources, a time that could directly situate them within the cosmological and religious beliefs of their creators. Also, contemporaneous architectural objects or artworks which would supplement their iconography are extremely rare. For the most part we have lost from our collective memory references to the symbolism these images bear, and without knowing the boundaries between their symbolism, mythology, and cosmology, we can only understand their realistic traits up to a point.

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Ritual and Symbolic Aspects of the Midwinter Horn in the Netherlands

By Annemies Tamboer

The Dutch midwinterhoorn *(midwinter horn) is a long, curved wooden horn. This folk instrument is played from Advent to Epiphany, from four weeks before Christmas to 6th January. The name is derived from midwinter, a traditional name for Christmas in some regions in the Eastern Netherlands. The oldest written sources mentioning the name* 'midwinterhoorn' *are certain official documents of the year 1815. These indicate that it was used as for signalling during the whole year, but that it was blown notably at Christmas. Its function of signalling gradually was lost almost completely in the early 20th century. When a revival of hornblowing took place, it was as an instrument played only at Christmas. Certain religious and symbolic connotations became attached to it, rituals developed around its use, and a renewed tradition came into being. The oldest tangible source for the existence and use of wooden horns in the Netherlands is a mouthpiece, dated to the 13th century, which has been excavated in fragments. Unfortunately, no written sources have been found that give a clue to the use of this 13th-century horn as a* 'midwinterhorn' *in the context of Christmas.*

Fragments of a Medieval Wooden Horn Excavated in Deventer

In 1995 emergency excavations in the town of Deventer brought to light traces of farm buildings and sheds. One of the excavated farms dates back to the last quarter of the 13th century. As in the Middle Ages the town of Deventer was considerably smaller than it is now, this excavated farm was not located in the present boundaries of the town but in the countryside, at a distance of four kilometers from the city ramparts. Written sources make clear it was not a private farm, but a farming estate, in possession of the chapter of St. Lebuin in Deventer. As it was taxed rather high it probably was a large estate with extensive lands. This estate also included a sheep fold, so apparently sheep were herded, probably on the heaths surrounding the estate (Sander Jansen, personal communication 2011).

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A well in the farmyard was filled with debris sometime during the 13th century. On the bottom of this well two small fragments of willow wood were found (Fig. 1), together with some broken ends of curved split twigs. I measured the fragments shortly after they were found, and before they dried and shrank. In 1995, shortly after the fragments were found, one could see more clearly cavities in the main pieces. The parts were almost identical and fitted together in the shape of a conical cup, widening abruptly to the bore. The small curved twigs could be fitted exactly round the main two parts. Discolourations on the outside showed where the twigs originally had fitted. Luckily the archaeologist that excavated the tiny fragments made a drawing on the spot. It proves that the two larger fragments belonged together and were wound with the split twigs indeed. These fragments once formed the mouthpiece of a wooden horn.

The construction of two hollowed out parts bound together with twigs is exactly as seen in a medieval horn excavated in Herning, Denmark (Rostholm/Wessberg 1998: 6-7) and in the Dutch *midwinterhoorn* of an ancient type called *natte hoorn,* "wet horn" (Fig. 3). The natte hoorn was made by joining two hollowed out halves of a thick, conical, curved branch, inserting some twined rushes in the split, and binding the parts together by tying fresh split bramble twigs at four or more places. The bramble twigs shrank when dried out and in this way joined the two parts tightly together. The rushes served to seal off any air leaks in the joint, as they swell when the horn is steeped in water (Montagu 1975: 76). Swelling was done in a tub, a ditch, or in the well. In fact, a well is a convenient place to store a wooden horn and keep it wet at the same time, making it ready for playing at a given notice. Most objects excavated from the bottom of wells are interpreted as refuse. Knowing that wet horns were kept in wells, means it is probable that the Deventer horn was not discarded, but one day fell from its cord unnoticed and stuck in the mud at the bottom of the well. Another example of a medieval wooden horn lying on the bottom of a well is the almost complete 14th century instrument from the Friedberg castle in Meilen (Lake Zürich, Switzerland). On top of it many objects were thrown in that make it possible to date the horn, like a wooden bowl that can be dated 1321-1390 by its owner's mark. As the horn was found at the bottom of the well, lying under debris, it had fallen in when the well was still in use as a water source, sometime in the 14th century (Müller 1981: 45-58).

The Deventer mouthpiece was not a detachable mouthpiece as used in modern horns and trumpets, it was manufactured as an integral part of the horn. The internal

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cup shape of the Deventer mouthpiece is reminiscent of that of the Nydam find from Denmark (Ilkjaer 2002: 16). However, the groove around the mouthpiece seems to point at a metal binding. The wooden horn from the Friedberg castle in Switzerland mentioned before is the only excavated wooden horn possessing exactly the same internal mouthpiece shape and size. This Swiss horn was made of a spruce trunk spliced in two halves and has a length of 45 cm. The binding twigs are lost. For a (hypothetical) reconstruction of the Deventer fragments as a complete horn the Friedberg horn seemed to be the most plausible inspiration, because of its similarity in mouthpiece and date. The reconstruction is made of willow, as this is indigenous in the Netherlands and was and still is traditionally used for such objects (Fig. 2). Its fundamental tone appears to be equivalent to a g^1 in Western pitch terminology.

The Midwinter Horn Tradition in the Netherlands

The midwinter horn is not a musical instrument in a classical sense. Players do not play compositions read from notation, and midwinter horns usually are not played in ensembles. Its musical possibilities are limited to five to seven notes, the range depending partly on the qualities of the instrument, but more so on the skill of the player. Practice and good lungs are needed to play the instrument properly. In the east of the Netherlands, from four Sundays before Christmas to 6th January, the sound of midwinter horns can be heard outdoors. Individual players blow their horn outside their house when they feel like it, in the evening, after work. They play a characteristic tune hoping someone else will answer their call as a reward for their effort. Others like to go out in the country, to a place where the landscape favors their horn sound, just to enjoy the aesthetics of the sound, for their own amusement. Yet socializing plays an important part in midwinter horn culture. Most players are organised in midwinter horn societies that organise meetings and events where players can meet and play alternately.

Moreover, today, the instrument is enjoying ever increasing popularity. About sixty years ago the first organized group of modern-day players was founded, and now, in 2012, I have counted at least 36 groups by consulting sites on the Internet. Some groups are small, while others have forty members or more. Not all midwinter horn players belong to a group, so the number of players can only be estimated, but based on anecdotal evidence, hundreds must be active. Some of the players build

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Fig. 1 Deventer, Holland. Fragments of a wooden horn found in the 13th century well of a farm. The longest mouthpiece fragment in a wet state, when excavated: 68 mm in length, external diameter 24 mm, wall thickness 3 mm. Collection Archaeological Service Deventer.

Fig. 2 Reconstruction based on fragments of a wooden horn excavated in Deventer. Willow wood, length 48 cm. Made by Peter Kuiper, 2003.

Fig. 3 Traditional "wet horn" with rushes in the joint and a detachable mouthpiece, called the happe. *Length 112 cm. 19th century. Collection Museum TwentseWelle, Enschede*

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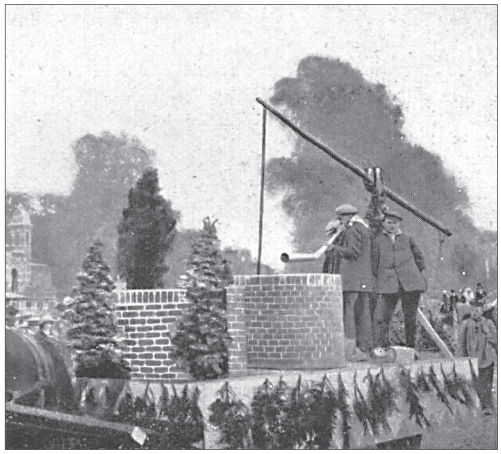

Fig. 4 Tin plate midwinter horn as played in the pageant from The Historical Fatherland People's Festival organised by Van de Ven in 1919 in Arnhem. After Van de Ven (1920, Afb. 314).

Fig. 5 Students of the midwinter horn course taught by Edwin Steggink pose at the well of an old farm in Enschede after their exam, December 2012.

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their own horns, but most buy their instruments from talented horn makers. Yet not all midwinter horns are built to be played. Craft-market makers often demonstrate the manufacturing process and sell their horns as decorative objects where they are typically hung on walls. Originally these horns were played exclusively by men, though more and more women play. Historical core regions where the horns can be heard are Twente and De Achterhoek in the east of the Netherlands, while today the horns can sometimes be heard in provinces to the north (Drenthe) and to the west (Gelderland). Midwinter horn players from the east also perform in events in the west of the Netherlands, like midwinter fairs, living nativity scenes (pantomimes by living people and animals), some church services, or during Gouda by Candlelight (an annual event on a Tuesday night ahead of Christmas where thousands of candles light the market square). The best occasions to see and hear as many horns as possible are the so-called midwinter horn walks organised by player's groups. Since 1984 almost every Sunday afternoon in December, up until January, one or more of these walks take place in one of the many country estates or along the fields surrounding villages. Dispersed over the route small groups of players, grouped round fires, take turns blowing and answering the calls of other players. These walks are so popular that thousands of people come to hear the melancholy sounds that echo over the fields. In frosty weather, the sounds can be heard at a distance of five to seven kilometers, depending on the horn, the ability of the player, the landscape and the weather, frosty weather being best for sound projection.

Modern midwinter horns have a tendency to be longer than the instruments that were made a century ago, now resulting in lengths of one and a half metre or more (compare Figs. 3 and 5). The mouthpiece, *happe* in Dutch, is detachable and is made from an elder branch between 10 and 20 cm long, with a diameter of about two cm. To make a mouthpiece the spongy marrow of the branch is removed and the end of the newly formed tube is cut off obliquely. This is all that is done in construction. No internal cup shape as in a trumpet mouthpiece is attempted. Such a mouthpiece is unique and is not the same as other European wooden horns. This *happe*-type mouthpiece, requires the player to hold his horn obliquely, in some cases almost transversely. It was probably not so much playing technique as the simple procedure used to make the mouthpiece that led to its adoption. This simplicity in design however does not hold true for playing the *happe*. Players have to try out several mouthpieces before finding the one that suits them, and they will stick with that one

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for years. Even trumpet players, presumably more familiar with cup-style mouthpieces, have to get used to the *happe*.

Though no particular call is officially prescribed, it is generally assumed that a traditional tune of four notes, the *oale roop* ("The Old Call"), is best suited for the instrument. Concensus opinion is that one should play the tune slowly and with legato, though variations are allowed. This tune or call, comprised of ascending triplets that descend to the fundamental pitch, but always starting with a fourth, was established by a committee of midwinter horn players on the basis of tape recordings collected in the 1970s (Jans 1995: 34-36). Apparently the need was felt to establish a more traditional and solemn sound than the swift succession of notes, sometimes derived from cavalry signals, that often were played (recordings from 1951 and 1966 can be found on *www.liederenbank.nl, "midwinterhoorn",* recent ones on 'YouTube': *"midwinterhoorn* blazen op de Hoge Veluwe", 2011, a.o.). Since 1988 traditional tunes have been taught through classes, some finishing with an exam in the characteristic setting now associated with midwinter horn playing, the well of an ancient farmhouse (Fig. 5).

Poland is the only other European country that has a rich wooden horn tradition. There, in two regions in the east of the country the instrument is called the *ligawka*. Like the midwinter horn, the *ligawka* is made from a thick branch that is sawn into two pieces laterally, then hollowed out, and joined together by a number of hoops, usually made of split twigs or iron rings. Some horns are covered with a tar-drenched cord, a feature not found in the Netherlands. Until the end of the 19th century the *ligawka* was the instrument played by the head shepherd of a village to summon the farmers to lead their animals out of their sheds. It was also used as a signalling soundmaker on timber barges. Nowadays it is only associated with Advent. This latest development was stimulated not in the least by a Warsaw archbishop who promoted its performance in churches from 1818 to the present. The *ligawka* is still played in some 20-30 villages, where it can be heard in house yards in the morning, the evening, and in an organised context in churches during mass on Christmas Day. This religious context is its main motivation for use. *Ligawka* tunes are usually derived from traditional shepherd's calls, but occasionally Christmas Carols are also played. The *ligawka* tradition is being stimulated by competitions, since 1974 at the Museum of Agriculture in Ciechanowiec and since 2001 at the regional museum in Siedlce (Dahlig 2001: 278-286).

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Dutch Midwinter Horn Tradition, Germanic Mythology and Christian Ritual

In brochures, journal articles, papers, and Internet sites of midwinter horn player-groups, suggestions of a prehistoric pre-Christian origin of the custom are commonly featured. A 2012 feature on a regional television station that was titled *Over Wodan Huginn & Muninn en een heidens kabaal* ("Wodan, Huginn & Muninn and an infernal racket") (RTV Meppel Journaal 2012) is illustrative. The title refers to the Germanic god Wodan and to the two ravens of the god Odin, his Norse counterpart. In this feature the pre-Christian origin is emphasized, and a large number of players actually produce the sounds that supposedly were used to chase away the ghosts. They did this by blowing their horns in ensemble, which is a very unusual performance technique, and one that commonly is felt to be improper. It needs to be stated that the players are not supporters of a Germanic pre-Christian religious revival. As tradition dictates, they end their horn-playing season with their traditional solitary call, a tune adopted as a local call of the village, in front of the main church. Examples like these illustrate that the notion of a pre-Christian origin may be attractive, but is without much verification. Again and again Germanic mythology is invoked to imbue midwinter horn playing with symbolic meaning. It is again stressed that historical sources are not mentioned.

Where did the notion of a prehistoric pre-Christian origin begin? The survival of such Germanic folklore was a popular and romantic concept supported enthusiastically by ethnologists in the first half of the 20th century. One Dutch ethnologist, Van der Ven (1891-1973), was a prolific writer on folklore of the Netherlands. In fact, he organised a large scale folkloric event in Arnhem in 1919 called *Het Vaderlandsch Historisch Volksfeest* ("The Historical Fatherland People's Festival"). This was an incredible success. During one week about 400,000 visitors came to witness countless people in folk dress, performing traditional crafts or customs, a very large number for a country with a population of 6.5 million at the time (Wagemakers 1996: 183).

In the open air museum of Arnhem a midwinter horn player demonstrated his horn at the stone well in front of a traditional farm house, and in a pageant a midwinter horn was played above a cardboard well on a cart (Fig. 4). Thousands of Dutch people have now seen and heard the midwinter horn, most nobably in the setting of a farmer on clogs and with a cap, blowing his horn above a well, an image that has become iconic. In Van der Ven's book *Neerlands volksleven* ("Dutch Folk

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Life") of 1920 midwinter horn blowing was put in a Germanic mythological context. It was described as "acts of folk religion founded on the cult of the Germans", "an idealized christianization of the old cult of holy wells […] hallowing and symbolization of animal fertility and vitality", "the horn itself is an instrument of prehistoric times" (Van der Ven 1920: 228-229). Van der Ven kept to his preconceived idea even when players of the midwinter horn told him their playing was meant to announce Christmas. This explanation was considered naïve and unsatisfactory by him *(ibid.)*. He also withheld the fact that in the pageant the farmer blew a tin-plate horn, a cheap variant of the midwinter horn played by many until the 1950s. In his text he describes a wooden midwinter horn, when the illustration clearly shows a tin plate version. For ethnologists, and later by advocates for a midwinter horn revitalising movement, the tin plate instrument was considered not traditional, and it was even despised.

Starting with Van der Ven the Germanic pre-Christian connotations of the midwinter horn has been repeated over and over in publications, by him as well as by other folklorists, and this idea lives on today, as illustrated in the previous paragraphs. This idea notwithstanding, the fact that Evert Jans, an established authority in the midwinter horn scene, explicitly states "midwinter horn blowing is not a heathen custom" (Jans 1995: 15) has done nothing to alter this perception for some. Apparently even today, some people have an emotional need to place the instrument in a prehistoric and mythical context, perhaps in order to authenticate the custom and to stress its venerability and antiquity. At the same time however, the mythical connotations function as an advertising tool to attract publicity, yielding an atmosphere of exotism and "authenticity" for the instrument.

The predominant view among folkorists now is that the origin of the tradition of *midwinterhorn* playing at Christmas should be sought in a Christian, specifically Roman Catholic, context. They point to traditional horn blowing in German regions adjacent to the Dutch border in the east, a tradition almost extinct, but now being revived by Dutch influence. Written sources from Münsterland from the 17th to the early 18th century mention shepherds blowing on all kinds of horns during the Christmas Mass, and young people blowing their horns in the streets (Brockpähler 1977: 67-69). To concede that Dutch midwinter horn blowing is a part of this same tradition is tempting but does not take into account the differences in culture between the two regions. In the Netherlands the midwinter horn was not played by shepherds, but by farmers, and not in the streets, but at home. Protestantism was

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the state religion in the Netherlands from the Reformation until 1795 and Catholics were not allowed to practise their faith openly. For example, they were not allowed to ring bells, let alone play horns to announce mass. A story based on historical data, tells of Sigismund van Heiden Hompesch (bailiff of Twente 1769-1786) who was feared because of his fanatic persecution of Catholics. When he sent out his people to prevent a mass being conducted people warned one another of his coming by blowing their horns (Voskuil 1981: 15).

In Germany, shepherds and young people blew their horns during the Shepherd's Mass. It was played during the Gloria section, when the organ and the bells sounded, symbolizing the jubilation of joy at the birth of Christ (Brockpähler 1977: 68). The theory that midwinter horn blowing in the Netherlands originated with late-medieval shepherds' plays in the church (Voskuil 1981: 10; Jans 1995: 20), is not confirmed by written sources. It is true that in one medieval Nativity play a shepherd is asked to call a fellow shepherd with his horn, but this could refer to any kind of horn (Remnant 1999: 168). In the few surviving examples of the church music drama *Officium Pastorum* ("Shepherd's Mass", the third mass of Christmas) no horns are scored (Smoldon 1967: V). The first time we can be certain of a connection between the Catholic Church and midwinter horn playing is in Twente in 1948, when a priest asked a farmer to announce Christmas Mass by blowing his horn (Jans 1995: 15). This signals the start of a tradition new for the 20th century. As reliable historical data is lacking, it is difficult to establish if midwinter horn playing in church contexts is either an invented or a revitalised tradition.

The use of the midwinter horn as a signal instrument in a secular context is evident as early as the 18th century, not only through confirmation in the story of the bailiff of Twente mentioned above, but also by an official correspondence of 1815, the oldest document using the term *middewinters horen* ("midwinter horn"). In May 1815, a farmer in the hamlet of Kotten was accused of warning smugglers by blowing his wooden horn, when in fact he was calling workers in the fields home for tea. This signalling practice was attested to by six witnesses who were called in to testify. They all told the authorities that the *middewinters horen,* as they called it, was indeed played as a signal instrument, but that it was also played during Advent, the origin of this latter use being unknown to them (Jonker 2012). Details about its use during Advent are lacking, so we do not know when and where exactly it started, or what it meant when it did. As the witnesses did not know when the tradition began,

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performance at Advent must have been a standing tradition among the farmers for quite some time, its origin even then lost in time. A century later, this tradition appears to have lived on, when in 1914 the farmers were asked why they played their horns during Advent, they answered "to announce the coming of the Christ child" (Van der Ven 1920: 229).

Conclusion: The Midwinter Horn Tradition in the Netherlands and the Medieval Wooden Horn from Deventer

In the 20th century the midwinter horn gradually lost its importance as a signalling instrument. In fact, it almost fell into disuse, but ethnologists in their zeal to reclaim Dutch society, including its exotic folk instruments, made it known to a broad public through different media. This together with the efforts in Twente, the organization of horn contests to stimulate playing, led to a revival of the instrument and its repertoire in the second half of the 20th century. By then the midwinter horn had lost its function as a secular communication instrument and only its role in Advent performance remained. The connection with Christmas took on many different levels, ranging from performance at living nativity scenes to use announcing mass from the church tower. For most players the religious connotations probably are more a custom than a deeply felt emotional bond, but most, if not all follow the unwritten rule to not play outside of Advent. This rule is clearly an invented tradition, as midwinter horns in the past were used outside the Advent period for signalling purposes. Blowing before Advent or after Epiphany means breaking the rules and is "not done". This is stressed by a ritual of opening and closing the playing period by an open air gathering of members of a midwinter horn group where all play in turn. For some players the instrument itself is felt to be almost ritual in character: they even feel that placing the bell of the horn on the ground is sacrilegious. Instead, the horn must be leaned on the player's shoes or clogs (Van der Spek 2000: 57, 59). Notwithstanding the strong connection with the Christian religion, the notion of a prehistoric origin, accompanied by Germanic symbolism also exists, and this apparently is not felt to be incongruous. Probably a feeling of being part of a longstanding tradition helps establish a group identity in such a case.

Was the 13th century wooden horn find from Deventer a midwinter horn in the modern sense? This is difficult to answer. Documents that evidence the use of wooden

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horns as signalling instruments go back no further than the 18th century, its use in Advent to 1815. Tracing wooden horns back in time, we do find a 16th century Dutch woodcut showing a fisherman blowing to announce his catch. That wooden horns were used in the Middle Ages is testified by archaeological finds and iconography, but nothing suggests their use in specific traditions connected to Christmas. The wooden horns excavated in Kvalsund (Norway, 6th century AD) and Oseberg (Norway, circa AD 800) were found in boats (Lund 1991: Examples 39 and 37). Probably the oldest iconographical source that allows us to interpret the horns as made of wood is the Utrecht Psalter (France, circa AD 825). In the illustration to Psalm 150, horns are shown being played to praise the Lord, and in another Psalm illustration horns are played at the destruction of a city. These horns are very large, but this in itself does not establish that they were really this large in reality, nor does it mean that they were made of wood. Decisive for establishing the construction material are the bindings that join two halves together. Of the multitude of tuba angels, medieval angels playing very large horns, a few seem to play wooden horns. However, they are all depicted in the context of the Last Judgment, not of Christmas. In Nativity scenes, when one would expect midwinter horns to be depicted if an Advent playing tradition existed, shepherds are never shown playing a wooden horn, and in fact, in most cases the depicted iconic instrument is the bagpipe. In medieval nativity plays no horns are played to welcome the Christ Child. In short, no sources from the Middle Ages exist that suggest the existence of a midwinter horn tradition in the modern sense. The Deventer horn certainly was used as a signalling horn, as it was hung ready for use to summon workers in the fields surrounding the estate. If it was ever used in connection to Christmas is impossible to establish.

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The Return of Ritual
Sacred Popular Music Cultures and Cults

By Rupert Till

This chapter explores ritual and trance in popular music contexts, focusing on the UK and Anglo-American traditions, but with relevance elsewhere. It begins by discussing conflict between and positioning of popular music and Christian traditions, and a wider opposition between popular and official (or high) culture. This is explored broadly through discussing examples of collective effervescence and trance practices in popular music fields, including in particular music festival traditions. Activities at the annual Buddhafields music festival in the UK are explored as a specific case study, discussing shamanic trance and ecstatic dance workshops. These are compared briefly with other trance and dance practices within electronic dance music culture. The chapter concludes by discussing how postmodernity has seen the erosion of boundaries between high art and popular culture, resulting in the field of religion, meaning and spirituality in a re-enchantment (Partridge 2005). The end of the modern experiment, that began with the rationalist enlightenment, has allowed ritual and trance practices to emerge within popular music cultures. It is interesting to compare these new cultural formations, influenced as they are by traditional and ancient practices, with their antecedents. This provides us with an opportunity to further inform our understanding of the significance of for example trance practices within human cultures.

The 20th century saw in Western Europe a systematic reduction in official participation in traditional organized religions, as secularization developed within cultures influenced by modernisms. This contrasts to some extent with the position of religion on other continents, as for example in the US, where church attendance is a little higher (Hadaway *et al.* 2005). However human culture in Europe has maintained a need and place for the functions previously served by Christianity as the dominant religious practice. These functions include ways to develop individual identity and a

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relationship with the self; expressions of community; perspectives that help to express relationships between people; perspectives that help to express the relationships between those people and the universe or outer world; and foci of social technologies for facilitating psychedelic, transcendental or ecstatic experiences. These sociological functions have been described within religious culture using terms such as devotional life, spirituality, mysticism, cosmology and worship, and are put into action through ritualized activities.

Towards the end of the 20th century, as postmodernities began to replace modernities, it became clear that the modern experiment was not able to explain the universe in purely mechanistic terms, as concepts such as superstrings, dark matter, the prime mover, god particles, chaos theory, morphic resonance and relativity showed that the so-called laws of physics and science were not explicable in a simplistic manner, and that believing in science needed as much faith as religion (Sheldrake 2009; Murphy/Knight 2010). In the context of a globalized world, postmodernities have opened up new opportunities for a post-secular culture, and enlightenment thinking has given way to a European re-enchantment (Partridge 2005), fuelled in part by the influence of non-western belief systems on popular culture. This process has been described for example by Grace Davie (2007). Davie has discussed how the de-churching of popular culture in the West has left many "believing without belonging" (*ibid*.: 138), surveys indicating that vestiges of spirituality remain in terms of what people think about questions of existence, although they often do not belong to or attend a church or other organized religion. Science does not relieve the need for human social interaction and community, and this disparity has led to what Heelas and Woodhead (2001) have described as the homeless self.

This has led increasing numbers of people to be attracted to alternative forms of spirituality to older primary religions, wich have not been discredited in a post-secular world. Growth in interest in concepts such as New Age thinking have been facilitated and fueled by globalized contemporary communication systems that offer ready access to information on non-Western belief systems. Others have been drawn to new-religious movements (NRMs), recently developed religious communities that are often focused in particular on the teachings of one person, often the leader of the NRM. However the numbers involved such NRMs are relatively small. More significantly, most religious organizations have seen a decrease in membership during the 20th century. In fact "any congregation that relies on a sense of obligation or duty

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to bring people to church (or similar institution) is likely to be in trouble" (Davie 2007: 144). Indeed obligation has given way in European culture (and elsewhere) to consumption.

Davie (*ibid.*: 139) tells us that it is not just religion, but "almost all social activities which require people to 'gather' on a regular basis (political parties, trade unions, team sports etc.)" have declined markedly in a similar way and for similar reasons. Decrease in participation in religions and other communities combined with a re-enchanted, post-secular increased interest in opportunities to explore believing through ritualistic activity, has seen secular activities not previously associated with religion begin to increasingly display ritualized properties. Other organizations that require less commitment have expanded their range of purpose, to fulfill some of the former functions of these more demanding groups. Gordon Lynch (2005) calls older, traditional mainstream religions primary institutions. He describes other organisations fulfilling a similar role as secondary institutions. The latter are described as having a lesser level of specific requirement of the individual, less strict rules and freer codes of how to behave, with more individual responsibility replacing obedience. Popular music cultures act as one such type of secondary institution (Lynch/Badger 2006). The use of primary and secondary as terminology privileges a particular type of organisation, and I would suggest it would be preferable to replace primary institution with "dogmatic institution" and secondary institution with "flexible institution", which are descriptive rather than sequential terms. Public consciousness has often conceived of institutions associated with high or elite cultures as dogmatic, and many of the flexible institutions that have become associated with a revival of ritual are therefore based in popular culture. Ritual practices often involve music, and in this chapter we will explore some examples of ritual activity within contemporary popular music culture.

To briefly consider methodology, popular music studies are inevitably interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary in nature, and this chapter will mix elements of ethnomusicological, ethnographic, archaeological, religious studies, musicological and cultural studies approaches. It will draw upon my own experiences, and thus cross boundaries between the etic, emic, participant observation and autoethnography, always trying to avoid the purely subjective and to make the nature of such different sources always clear.

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Flexible Institutions within Popular Music Culture

Popular music scenes and cultures have many similarities to religions, whether or not participants describe them as such. Elements of popular music culture such as festivals, nightclubs, fanclubs, concerts, online discussion sites, magazines, bands, audiences and labels can act as significant foci for the construction of meaning and identity. They can also offer opportunities for experiences involving spirituality, individual and communal transcendental journeys, and most significantly for this publication, they are often sites of rituals of a sacred popular culture that is what Bourdieu (1971; 1985) might call consecrated. Bourdieu saw the state as the principle agent of consecration (Engler 2003); within the post-secular landscape of postmodernity it seems that flexible institutions such as popular music culture act with similar agency.

Popular music has been linked to religion in many ways. This includes ideas of Implicit Religion (Bailey 1997; 2001; Gauthier 2005); discussions of the festive (St. John 2004); and oceanic experience (Sylvan 2005). My own work (Till 2010) has used the popular cultural term for NRMs, "cult", to describe popular cultural scenes, suggesting that they are "like a religion", that they address many of the functions formerly fulfilled by religions, and that whether they are religions or not has more to do with one's definition of religion than with the nature of popular music cultures.

Definitions of religion generally take one of two approaches (Bruce 1996: 6). Sometimes they are phrased in functional terms, following Durkheim's theories, in terms of what religion does, answering questions about the nature of existence, or dealing with the most deeply felt concerns. Otherwise they might follow Max Weber's theories in what are often labelled substantive terms, referring for example to sets of beliefs relating to supernatural beings. Under the former definition, pop cults may be seen as religions, under the latter they probably would not. The difficulties involved in either definition, and the prejudices involved in choosing either, are why this chapter describes popular music cults as being like a religion (also referencing two of Madonna's best known songs), or religion-like.

Pop cults have grown up within a sacred popular, as popular cultural new social movements, or new religious movements by another name (Till 2010). As Bruce (1996: 4) puts it,

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"If the church *was the dominant form of religion in the pre-Reformation world, the* sect *its embodiment in the early modern period, and the* denomination *its classic form in the 20th century, the emblem of religion for the 21st century is the* cult."

Dogmatic sets of beliefs are not required for participation in popular music structures.

"As the society rather than the community has increasingly become the locus of the individual's life, religion has lost many of its purposes […] the point of religion was to create and sustain a common sense of identity […] religion traditionally ritualized and legitimated local life." (ibid.: 44)

Withdrawal from religious and social organisations has left individuals believing but not belonging, what Heelas and Woodhead (2001) have called the "homeless self". The problem with this situation is that belonging is a vital technology necessary to hold human communities together and allow individuals to live together harmoniously. Whereas belief has been able to survive within individuals outside of primary institutions such as the church, belonging needs a structure to exist, and has not fared so well in an increasingly individualistic Western society. Popular music cultures have offered a flexible space within which to belong without believing, as well as in which believing can be facilitated and explored, without being a requirement.

Popular music has had a difficult relationship with religion. Indeed religious organisations, representatives and authorities have condemned blues, jazz, rock and roll, soul, disco, metal, rave and numerous individual popular musicians as being negative, evil or even demonic. Charles Foster (2009: xiv) has suggested that "creationism has inoculated a whole generation against Christianity", and similarly conservative approaches have meant that popular music has remained largely inoculated against Christianity. In contrast the association of popular music with sex and drugs (Till 2010), as well as (often by evangelical Christians) with paganisms (Bennett/Weston 2013) and even Satanism (Partridge 2012) has allowed popular music to develop cult-like associations, as well as to absorb an influx of influences from elements of New Age, Eastern religions and pre-Christian European traditions. This has provided popular music with countercultural authority, positioning it as oppositional to the mainstream, and thus as something that is exciting and thrilling to youth culture in particular. At a time when belief and religion are unpopular,

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popular music cultures have provided secular rituals that ease the homeless self with a sense of belonging.

Collective Effervescence and Trance Practices in Festival Culture

As discussed, a functional definition of religion highlights in particular the theories of Durkheim. His term "collective effervescence" is used by Ehrenreich (2006) in *Dancing in the Streets* to explore the importance in human culture of festivity, "that which leads individuals to seek ecstatic merger with the group" (*ibid.*: 14), and engenders a feeling of belonging. Durkheim suggests seeking collective effervescence is a reason for the existence of religion and ritual, providing opportunities to get out of one's head and into one's body, a chance to focus on experience, feeling, embodiment, and an immanent, general revelation, direct experience of the divine.

Many cultures have festive and festival traditions, whether within Christianity's Christmas, Caribbean carnival, or Dionysian rites. Ehrenreich (2006) summarizes such traditions within Europe. In the UK there has been a long tradition of summer fairs (or fayres) and festivals, as discussed by George McKay (1996). Such festivals have become a particular focus of collective effervescence within ritualized popular music cultural activities. They have clear references to religious or spiritual activities and provide good examples of rituals that are set within popular music culture. Such festivals originated before the 1950s as traditional community events, but several of them developed a focus on popular music content, following the success of music festivals such as Newport, Pink Pop, Monterey, Isle of Wight and Woodstock. Some of these UK events have been free festivals. Such free events have often been less regulated than licensed, ticketed festivals, and the Stonehenge Free Festival in particular became known for its lawless environment. Others such as the Glastonbury Festival (the largest UK popular music festival) charge admission fees. Partridge (2006: 41-42) tells us that:

"Idealistic, romanticised notions of love, community, spirituality, and relationship to the land were articulated by many young people—'tomorrow's people'—who wanted retreat from a society they perceived to be inhibited, violent, and repressive. The free festival represented a microcosm of a new, utopian community on the edges of an old, decadent, and staid society. […] Festival goers were not members of the National Trust interested in pottering around ancient monuments, they were Pagan pilgrims interested

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in both music and sacred space. It was the contemporary *spiritual significance of Stonehenge that attracted festival goers, its links with pre-Christian, indigenous religion investing it with power (see Stone 1999: 74). For many, at this ancient circle there is a meeting of the past and the present. At Stonehenge there was a blend of music, counter-cultural politics, and contemporary Pagan spirituality. Indeed, while music has always been central to free festivals, they were often much more than simply music events. […] Held between 1974 and 1984, Stonehenge is generally acknowledged to be the most important of the free festivals."*

The Stonehenge Free Festival was a music festival held each year close to the stone circle at Stonehenge (not actually inside it). It was characterised by an anarchic attitude to the law, and developed out of other free festivals (Till 2013). It was the site of open drug selling and consumption, and music performances by groups such as Hawkwind, usually climaxing as the sun rose on midsummer's day, associating it with older pagan traditions and neo-druidism. The festival was prevented from occurring in 1985 as authorities reacted to fears of damage to one of the most important Neolithic sites in the UK. Political issues had also been raised and practical problems caused by the travelling convoy of vehicles that made its way to the site each year, as well as the illegality of the festival, and the counter-cultural opposition of the drug-taking that took place within it. Heavy police presence and substantial violence ended the convoy's attempts to reach Stonehenge in 1985 (Chippindale 1986), and many of those who had wanted to get to Stonehenge ended up at the Glastonbury Festival instead. For a number of years Michael Eavis, who runs Glastonbury Festival, provided free space for the convoy to operate a parallel event outside the main Glastonbury Festival site. Eventually friction and violence ended this relationship and resulted in the construction of a large fence to restrict access to paying customers to placate licensing authorities.

First held in 1970, the Glastonbury Festival is the largest and most successful popular music festival in the UK, at its peak in 1995 an estimated 250,000 people attending (Chivers 2010). In this year 100,000 had gained access to the festival illegally, and an even more more robust fence was set up to prevent this and ensure the festival kept to its licenced capacity. I visited it four times in the 1990s. The Glastonbury Festival has become the UK inheritor of the 1960s spirit of Woodstock, and of the free festival tradition of Stonehenge. It has remained a key ritual

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celebration within UK popular music culture, it is a kind of pilgrimage to many, and worth discussing in some detail.

Held most years (occasionally there are breaks to allow the land to recover or for example because the 2012 Olympics were in the UK), like the Stonehenge Free Festival it is also timed at or near the summer solstice. Another similarity to Stonehenge is that the festival has its own stone circle built by Ivan McBeth, who discusses its construction on his website.

"In February 1992 I got the go-ahead to design and build a permanent stone circle at Worthy Farm, the site of the Glastonbury Music Festival. During those years over half a million people would descend on this farm, positioned four miles east of Glastonbury, and celebrate the magic of Midsummer depending on their religions, belief systems, levels of energy, and general inclination." (McBeth online, n.d.)

He designed the circle based on the astronomical constellation of Cygnus, and aimed that:

"the stones would ground the often manic and unhealthy atmosphere of the festival. […] if someone looked over the stone erected in the center of the stone egg, representing the belly of the Swan at Midsummer sunrise, the sun would be seen to rise directly over the stone that depicted the Swan's head. […] I had put the word around that I wanted crystals from different places both in Britain and around the world to place underneath the stones. Many people gave me such gifts, and they were placed where appropriate. […] The Glastonbury Order of Druids performed a delightful ceremony at sunrise to inaugurate the new stone circle, the sun rose directly over the head of the Swan, and there was much celebration." (McBeth online n.d.)

This stone circle is the centre of the most obviously ritualized and consecrated activity at the Glastonbury festival.

The festival has two extremes, separated geographically, which reflect the interests of different kinds of festival-goer. At one extreme are a large number of music fans, here to see a sequence of famous popular music performers. Their principal focus is the Pyramid Stage. The whole site is set within a valley, and has a gentle slope at each end. One side leads down from camping areas to the main music stage of the

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festival, the Pyramid Stage. This was the original focus of the festival, the pyramid shape a reference to New Age beliefs about the power of pyramids to focus energy. The most well known bands perform on this stage, and there is room in front of the stage on the gentle hill for an enormous audience to watch. This stage is surrounded by shops and food concessions, it is the most obviously commercialized area, and is much like any other contemporary popular music festival. This area represents the festival's role within the music industry, its secular function as an entertainment venue. It is a ritual space but one that focuses on belonging to the crowd, although there is of course a sense of worship of the deified bands that perform to adoring fans from their raised, reified position on stage. Any religion here is certainly implicit rather than explicit religion (Bailey 1997; 2001).

In the center of the festival, the other main stage offers bands that are perhaps slightly less mainstream than those on the Pyramid Stage. Other stages, marquees and areas offer options that are less commercial still, and that are also perhaps less obviously ritualistic, although all feature the ritual practices of stage and performance. A children's field has a range of activities, focused around its own large marquee; a comedy tent features many famous comedians; theatre and classical music venues run throughout the festival; other stages host world music. Some areas are more overtly ritualistic, the dance tent, with a capacity of 20,000, plays beat driven electronic dance music (EDM) to a dancing throng of trancers; and Shangri-La, Block9 and Arcadia provide ever more unconventional options.

If one walks down the slope where the largest audiences sit, past the Pyramid Stage, onwards past the central area and up the slope on the other side of the valley, one enters a more alternative space that features more explicit references to ritual and belief. The Avalon stage hosts music influenced by hippie, New Age or Celtic traditions, and a series of independent cafes and small stalls leads up to the site of the stone circle. No camping is allowed in this area, and as one nears this site there is little technology, no electrical generators and no powered loudspeakers. The stone circle represents the religious, spiritual or ritual function of the festival. This is a space to escape the noise and chaos of the music stages. Glastonbury Festival offers a range of rituals, from the most secular or implicitly religious, to the overtly sacred and explicitly religious.

At the start of the festival a ceremonial opening ritual is held at the stone circle. People go to this space not to see music but to absorb the atmosphere and connect

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with a festive vibe. The festival is actually held near the village of Pilton rather than the more famous nearby village of Glastonbury, but it is named after the latter for good reason. Glastonbury village is closely associated within New Age traditions with the legendary figure of King Arthur, the Holy Grail myths and ancient Christian traditions, including that Jesus visited Glastonbury as a child. Many people interested in New Age self-spiritualities and alternative lifestyles live in the area. As Bowman (2009: 161) puts it, Glastonbury "has become a multivalent pilgrimage site for a variety of spiritual seekers, and an icon of integrative spirituality (my preferred term for 'alternative' or 'New Age' spirituality)". The Glastonbury Festival is thus associated with not just the Neolithic stone circle of Stonehenge and its associated contemporary druidic traditions, but with a wide range of non-traditional spiritualities, as becomes clear when one spends time in the area.

The calm, peaceful space around the Stone circle provides a striking alternative to the Pyramid Stage. The centre of the festival can be a highly intense space. As already discussed, at its peak in the 1990s it is thought that 100,000 people may have entered the festival illegally, and I spoke to many individuals who had jumped the early fence,[1] used tickets or passes multiple times, hid in the back of cars or found other ways to get in. This overloaded facilities, and meant that there were dense crowds of people everywhere you went. There has always been a very light police presence at the festival, and it is certainly a different space to everyday life, a liminal site, to use Turner's term (1969), that appears, exists temporarily and then disappears again.

This liminality is enhanced for many of the individuals at the festival by the taking of psychoactive substances such as illegal drugs. At the festival I often heard people advertising drugs for sale, shouting "hash, Es, trips" as they walked through the space, referring to cannabis, ecstasy or LSD. You would often see people publicly smoking cannabis, and at night in particular it was clear that many people were high on ecstasy or LSD, something that became apparent when you spoke to them, and that again was very open and public. Music festivals are often liminal spaces, that exist between different other realities, neither betwixt nor between. Bey (1985) uses the term Temporary Autonomous Zone (TAZ) to suggest a similar idea. Both imply a situation where normal rules of society are suspended, and where something different can occur. The area around the pyramid stage is the most "normal". The stone circle is perhaps the

1 Eventually this barrier was made up of three separate fences, with towers and horse patrols and became close to impenetrable.

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most "other" space, the two providing festival goers options for graded levels of liminality. A description of an evening at the festival will perhaps illustrate this.

With a group of friends I made my way from watching a band at one of the main stages, as the sun was setting. All of those I was with had been to Glastonbury a number of times. I was a DJ in, and had created an interactive installation at, a marquee featuring multimedia art; another person was helping run the children's field; two others provided the loudspeaker system for that field; some were working in a café; another was a sound engineer. None of us had paid for tickets, and were contributing to the creation of the festival in various ways. As we moved up towards the field housing the stone circle, the noise of music from sound systems diminished. People walked slowly and purposelessly, in contrast to those hurrying the other way to see a favourite band perform in the stages below, as we had earlier. Rather than being dressed in clothing that placed them as "raver" (hoodie tops, designer t shirts, expensive trainers, short hair and sunglasses) or "indie kid" (rock band t-shirt, jeans, longish hair) a "hippie" look became more common, (multi-coloured clothes, odd hats, braided or dreadlocked hair). The ravers were more densely present at the dance tent, indie kids congregated at the main music stages, and we were now moving towards where the hippies hung out. These neo-tribes (St. John 2012) were principally based in one area, but most of the people I spoke to explored a range of different options, and most seemed to have spent time wandering around the site to explore, and had come to the stone circle at some point. We sat a little way above, beyond and outside the stone circle and talked and laughed together for at least a couple of hours. Other small groups of friends were doing the same around us.

From this position you could see right across the festival. The valley below was hazy in the dim late evening light, this was the evening of the summer solstice, the longest day and shortest night of the year. Small campfires could be seen burning, dotted across the landscape opposite, illuminating small clusters of people and tents, while below at the bottom of the valley an electric glow rose from a bustling hive of activity. The site looked much like a film depiction of something from a thousand or more years ago, a tribe of people camping together in the countryside to celebrate midsummer. My friends headed off to bed, but I walked towards the stone circle, intrigued by what was happening there.

As one approached the stones, the crowd became increasingly dense, although still largely seated. Picking my way through I came to the edge of the circle. Towards

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the center a group of musicians were playing djembes (African hand drums) and other percussion instruments. In the very center was a writhing mass of dancing bodies, with waving arms making spidery movements characteristic of altered states of consciousness. As I moved closer the glassy eyes and blissful concentrated smiles on the faces of the dancers gave the impression of ecstatic trance-like states. The dancing throng was lost in the music, and those in the very center were the most lost, caught in a trap of moving feet and pressing bodies, eyes closed, minds elsewhere, focus dimmed. I moved towards the circle's edge and joined the dancing, moving to the driving beats, caught up in the atmosphere of joy and celebration. Occasionally a cheer, scream or whoop of delight would emerge and be echoed by the gathered crowd, growing louder and peaking before fading and being replaced again by the urgency of the drummed beats. I ended up staying for many hours, eventually standing on one of the stones, each other stone topped by another dancing figure, although I remained fully dressed unlike at least one naked figure. Everyone was waiting for sunrise, the music and dancing keeping its intensity until finally the sun (which had already risen unseen at least an hour before), broke through the low clouds. Cheers and applause erupted from the crowd of perhaps 1000 people, the drums finally silenced.

Glastonbury Festival is a secular institution but one full of ritual and meaning, and is a good example of contemporary ritual, the sacred popular or a flexible institution. Approaches I came across to the festival range from first time visitors planning their camping, travelling to the site and spending most of their time watching the god-like performers on stage in front of tens of thousands of adoring worshippers, to the psychedelically enhanced trance dancers in the stone circle, technomads (St. John 2009) seeking altered states of consciousness and attempting to connect with the traditions of solstice celebration associated with stone circles, and with the mystical associations of Glastonbury and Avalon. Few present described themselves as taking part in religion, but it is clear that they were taking part in rituals. Other music festivals take a more overt approach to meaning and spirituality.

Buddhafields, Shamanic Trance and Ecstatic Dance

Starting in 1996, The Buddhafields Festival is held near Wellington in South-Western England, in the UK, during the summer. I attended five festivals between 2000

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and 2010. It is organized by a Buddhist organization called Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO), a Westernized adaption of Buddhist teaching that has been described as an NRM (Irons 2008: 206; Clarke 2005: 197). The events last for three days, and are focused around a mixture of music and workshops. There were large numbers of people from Bristol, Brighton, Cambridge and London, but with people attending from across the UK. As at Glastonbury Festival, accommodation involves camping in tents, but this was a much smaller festival, perhaps only 5000, with an older population mostly made up of those in their late twenties upwards. It has noticeably less 16-25 year olds than for example Glastonbury Festival.

The festival has many specifically Buddhist elements but welcomes and attracts a range of spiritual backgrounds and practices. It has an annual theme based on Buddhist teaching, and opening and closing rituals in which a large number of the festival audience participate. These rituals have included elements such as dancing, singing, readings, welcoming of spirits and gods from different points of the compass, lighting sky lanterns, burning candles, processions and music. A shrine and marquee host daily Buddhist meditations and there are a range of workshops discussing Buddhist teaching.

The festival asks ticket holders to abstain from alcohol and drugs, and although there were exceptions, the majority seemed to stick to these guidelines. There was no enforcement, or condemnation of those who did not stick to such rules, but I never saw an obviously intoxicated person, whereas this is a very common sight at most UK music festivals. The food sold at the festival was mostly vegan, with lots of macrobiotic and raw food options. There were workshops on permaculture, tai chi, chi-gung, singing, games and dancing, as well as regular yoga classes. There were activities for children as well as a healing area, offering everything from massage and reflexology to reiki and sound healing in gong baths. For the purposes of this chapter I am going to consider in detail workshops exploring "shamanic" trance and ecstatic dance.

The trance workshops were hugely popular, and in order to guarantee a place one had to queue for as much as an hour beforehand. The one I attended was held in a large circular tent on the edge of the festival. There were about 30 participants in the workshop, both men and women, of various ages, and who conformed to no obvious particular discernable characteristics. The workshops were organized by an organization called Northern Drum *(http://www.northerndrum.com)* who arrange

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regular workshops and courses of this kind. The workshop drew from shamanism as it is understood in a contemporary context within New Age traditions. This involves a broad and liberal interpretation with elements seemingly drawn from for example Scandanavia, Siberia and North America. Although this clashes with more exact academic definitions, and is in many ways an inaccurate use of the term, it is the term used by this group. In this case shamanism involved a tiered cosmos, journeying through spirit worlds and communication with spirit animals and beings.

The workshop began with each person discussing whether they had participated in this kind of activity before, and what their expectations were. Some were experienced trancers, others had done this kind of thing before occasionally. For others (including myself) this was entirely new. One must remember however that all were at a Buddhist music festival focused on spirituality and well being, and some background was no doubt shared. Next the workshop leader gave a description of shamanic lower, middle and upper worlds that could be accessed in trance states through an axis mundi or world tree. This was to be a practical workshop in which participants would travel to the lower world, in order for each person to meet their own spirit animal. The process was explained in detail, with various assurances given in order to make participants feel safe and secure. Having explained what would happen the opportunity to leave was offered, in case anyone did not want to continue through the process. We were then told to think of a place that was well known to us, that was somewhere we liked, and somewhere natural. We would need to visualize being in this place, this would be our starting point, our axis mundi. Suggestions were caves, trees, or by a lake. We were to prepare a question to ask our spirit animal. Everyone had been asked to bring along a scarf or piece of material. We were asked to find a position in the tent where we could lie comfortably on the ground, and to tie our scarves around our eyes to act as blindfolds.

The ritual began with "smudging", in which the herb sage was burned and the resulting smoke blown onto participants to cleanse them spiritually and aid their transit to the spirit world. After this had happened to everyone, the workshop leader began to play a circular frame drum. This was about 40 cm in diameter, about 15 cm deep, and produced a low note. This was played at about four beats per second, a very simple, steady, quick tempo, the player moving around the room, but playing at a very even volume. At the end of the ritual, after about 30 minutes, the drum was played much faster. We had been told this was the signal to return to ourselves, come back

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from wherever we had gone. The drum stopped and we were gently encouraged to sit up and remove our blindfolds.

My own experience was dramatic but not perhaps what I expected. I had felt myself filled with energy, with a glowing tingling feeling. This was an ecstatic experience, and not one that was particularly visual. It was enormously powerful, it was as if I was being bathed in light or power, a tremendously positive experience, as if being plugged in and recharged with joy and happiness. Those present collected in a circle and we were asked to describe what had happened. One by one everyone in the circle recounted how they had visualized themselves travelling underground, until they arrived in a garden like space where they met an animal who talked to them. One person met a unicorn, they climbed on their back and flew through the air. One experienced "trancer" described a more disturbing meeting, with a snake who bit him. Generally the meetings were benign, with for example a fox or an owl or wolf, and often the person seemed to gain supernatural powers in their encounter, and run very fast or fly. Literally every person in the room except me had such a vision, and many (especially those new to this practice) were clearly surprised that they had such a dramatic experience.

The difference of my own experience could have been due to a number of reasons. I am not a very visually focused person, so such visualisations are not something I find easy. I was perhaps analyzing the situation too much to give myself over to it completely, perhaps other participants were more open to the experience, less doubtful, more expectant. Or in the language of the workshop, perhaps I went elsewhere, to the upper realm, where spirit beings are present, and such ecstatic experiences are more common. What could not be doubted was that for all participants this was an unusual, striking, powerful experience, and certainly one that would be described as spiritual, and as a ritual.

There are many other activities I could describe at Buddhafields that involve ritual, but the ecstatic dance workshops run by Jewels Wingfield are especially interesting. Her website (n.d.) states:

"Her rich and varied background studies include: Conscious relationship as a path to awakening, Shamanism, Sacred Ecology/environmental work, Group, individual and couples therapy, Tantra and allied bodies of work related to Sacred Sexuality, Various forms of Ecstatic dance & somatic movement practices, Birth and regression work, NVC

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(non violent communication), drama therapy and more […] She is also an acclaimed 'One World' music DJ and a Sacred ceremonialist."

Usually her work is focused on relationships, with roots in Tantric theories, but focused principally on emotional honesty. However at Buddhfields she runs a number of "ecstatic dance" workshops, and has done at each event I visited. These are held in the festival's largest marquee, about twenty meters in diameter. The workshops are one of the best attended events of the festival, beginning with a full tent, but often ending heavily overcrowded and spilling over into the area surrounding the tent as more people join in, the sides of the marquee removed to allow extra space.

The workshops tend to follow a common structure, and are similar to some extent in nature to other New Age dance practices designed as a form of meditation, with particular similarities to Gabrielle Roth's Five Rhythms approach (Roth n.d.; online), although Wingfield's approach adopts a more variable format. This is a description of one of the workshops I attended. Music was played to gently prepare for the beginning of the workshop. Eventually, accompanied by quiet music, Wingfield introduced herself. She was standing on a small low stage at the front, talking through a radio microphone while also acting as a DJ, playing and controlling her own musical selections. She encouraged everyone to be still and close their eyes. Then she suggested one part of the body and then another be moved to the music, first a finger, then another, then a hand, then an arm, then the torso, then the hips then the legs, one part of the body at a time. All of this was accompanied by gentle electronic "chill out" music featuring soft drum grooves. Eventually the room was filled with gently dancing individuals, all with their eyes closed.

The next stage involved dancing with others. Opening their eyes, participants were asked to move through the space, dancing with someone near them for a while, focusing on interaction between the two people, no physical contact being made, before moving on through the tent. After a while people were asked to form into groups of about four, and they were again asked to dance together, with different exercises being given. Each person in turn was asked to move into the center to be the focus of the dance, and a trust game was played where the central person closes their eyes and relaxes, letting the rest of the group support them so that as they fall from side to side they are caught.

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Gradually the atmosphere in the tent changed and developed, the groups dissolving and the music getting louder and more energetic. Long snaking "conga" lines of dancers were formed and left the tent, moving around the surrounding space and then returning. To facilitate more space the men were asked to move to the edge of the tent, and the women who were present danced in the middle. By now whoops and screams accompanied the loud music, the men around the outside clapping along to the music. Everyone in the tent was dancing energetically. The positions were next reversed and the men moved to the centre, shouting and jumping. One record played at this stage was *I Like The Way (You Move)* by Bodyrockers (2005). Other songs played included *Phat Planet* by Leftfield (1999). Both these are electronic dance music tracks, beat driven with few lyrics, and most of the other tracks were broadly similar in nature. The common features of the music were a similar tempo, a solid groove, and euphoric or uplifting lyrical content. Participants were by now very lively and dancing energetically. The music built and peaked, and after a while started to slow down, driving beats being replaced by gentle synthesized textures.

Wingfield's calm voice slowly guided participants towards stillness, standing with eyes closed again, focusing on feelings inside the body. Gradually everyone was encouraged to lie down on the ground. In time an optional simple exercise encouraged everyone present to sit with another person near them, and simply look into their eyes. The workshop ended with a round of applause for Wingfield, and with a sea of smiling faces. Those I spoke to described feelings of freedom, happiness, energy, power, recharging and indeed ecstatic feelings. Many had attended before and looked forward to these sessions as a highlight of the festival. Those who were new to the activity were hugely enthusiastic about it.

This may sound similar to any nightclub on a Friday night, but a number of factors differentiated it. This was held in the afternoon at perhaps 3 p.m., for an hour. No one was drunk or had taken drugs. Rather than people dancing with their friends or partners, the workshop individualized participants and then formed them into a single dancing whole. The workshop had a specific consciously active theme, which all participants had subscribed to. This was a highly ritualized activity, and one that was certainly explicitly spiritual in nature. It was not an intellectual process, instead focusing on embodiment.

Buddhafields is a music festival that specifically sets out to be involved in spirituality, meaning, religion and belief. However it is organized by a New Religious

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Movement (albeit one based on traditional Buddhism), and is not part of a mainstream organized religion. No religious belief of any kind is required for participation, although lots of religious practice is present. What is also clearly present everywhere, including opening and closing ceremonies, as well as ecstatic dance and shamanic trance workshops, is an exploration of ritual. Such rituals are explorations of embodiment, spirituality, entrancement, ecstasy and other altered states of consciousness. They are explorations by Western Europeans beyond the boundaries of secularism, often reaching out towards what they perceive as pre-Christian or Eastern spiritual traditions to explore belief systems untarnished by centuries of exposure.

Both the workshops described are experientially based activities, led by an individual who uses music that is accompanied by ritual to guide participants in exploring themselves. Whether one describes this as a journey or exploration of the soul, self, ego, id or unconscious, is irrelevant to most of those taking part, and indeed is different for each participant. Perhaps in the shamanic trance workshop each person's soul actually met a spiritual being or guide in another layer of reality accessed by the world tree. A humanist interpretation might suggest that what happened was that the brain was driven into entrainment by the rhythm involved, inducing a trance like experience that is determined by the make up of the human brain. None-the-less, Buddhafields provides another good example of popular cultural ritual events that are focused or led by music.

EDMC

Wingfield's workshops clearly draw upon Electronic Dance Music (EDM) and its culture (EDMC). As we have seen, music festivals and popular music culture both have complex relationships with religion and ritual. In some cases such as Buddhafields, such relationships are explicit, overt, understood and stated, generally this is not the case within popular music cultures. However in some cases there is a greater acceptance of and engagement with the role of ritual and meaning than in others. In elements of EDMC this is clearly the case. As Sylvan (2005: 102) says:

"Traditional rites of passage emphasize the liminal quality of this transition from adolescence to adulthood by separating the initiates from the rest of society, stripping them of their normal social identity, placing them in their own temporary form

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of alternative community—which Turner called communitas*—and initiating them through a powerful encounter with the sacred. Raves do all of these things in exactly the same sequence."*

A number of music scenes appear to be like a religion, but the Electronic Dance Music Culture (EDMC) sub-genre known as trance (which developed from so called "raves") has particularly embraced ritual and elements of religious function. EDMC developed in the 1980s in US and UK cities, a hybrid form that mixed African American music culture elements (from soul, funk, hip hop and disco) with European new wave music, synthesizer led music that was popular at the time. What these forms had in common was that they were all primarily dance forms, music to dance to rather than listen to. EDMC also increased the level of technological input into the production and therefore mediation of popular music.

Emerging digital and computer music technology allowed music tracks to be constructed using software and hardware, allowing performance traditions to become focused on a nightclub context rather than concert culture. Disco had already developed many associated cultural traditions, especially at superclubs in New York such as the Paradise Garage and Studio 54. Recordings were being played by DJs late at night in a highly ritualised context, through high volume loudspeaker systems, accompanied by elaborate lighting effects and smoke machines. Disco music was associated with the overloading of senses through high volume and flashing lights; achievement of ecstatic states; taking of psychedelic substances; immersion of the self into the group of dancers on the dancefloor; all night dancing; and venues where a level of knowledge and/or initiation was required to gain access. These are the main characteristics of most EDMC. Initially this disco music culture was focused on nightclubs frequented by gay black and Latin American men in the US. It was to become far more popular and to spread internationally.

The rituals of the disco nightclub entered international mainstream consciousness when a 1976 *New York Magazine* article "Tribal Rites of the New Saturday Night" by Nik Cohn (Cohn 1976) was made into the film *Saturday Night Fever* (Badham 1977). Rather than be flooded by John Travolta lookalikes looking for discos having been inspired by this film, gay music culture moved musically elsewhere, developing in some nightclubs into house, techno, acid, rave and other forms of EDMC. This EDMC developed initially in New York, Chicago and Detroit. It migrated across the

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Atlantic to the UK, where it became associated with the drug ecstasy, or MDMA and its variants. It moved from a small, localized scene to becoming a mainstream worldwide scene involving outdoor music festivals as well as club culture.

Between 1991 and 2000 I visited a range of EDMC events. This amounts to a wide range of ethnographic fieldwork, but was somewhere between participant observation and an emic approach. My position varied from researcher to audience member (clubber), guest list member, sound engineer, promoter, musician and DJ, depending on the event concerned. I attended anything from one event per month to three events in one night. Principally this was at clubs in York, Leeds and Sheffield, but also included club events across the UK, music a number of festivals, and events in Portugal.

There are many accounts of religiosity within such events (St. John 2004; 2009; 2010; 2012; Till 2010). My own experiences relevant to this chapter have included conscious clubbing events in London at SEOne nightclub called the Synergy Project; drumming and opening rituals at Escape from Samsara at the Fridge nightclub in London; trance dancing at Return to the Source nights at the Arches nightclub in Sheffield; and the chill out stage at Boom Festival in Portugal. At such events clubbers and technomads (St. John 2009) make weekly or annual pilgrimages to experience the contrast of long periods of rigorous dancing to loud rhythmic music, with relaxing to low-key music in chill out rooms or after party events. Driven by commonly taken EDMC drugs such as ecstasy, ketamine, LSD and cannabis, as well as more recently emerging so called legal highs (Measham 2011), numerous rituals surround and enable the achievement of altered states of consciousness, whether the trance dancing of the dance floor or the ecstatic bliss of chill out.

Such rituals include preparation for the event, small groups congregating to prepare for the night ahead, collecting, concealing and consuming drugs and building social relationships. At the venue a team of people associated with the club arrive early to set up lighting, sound equipment and decorations. These are often home made and painted onto material using fluorescent paints and entoptic or kaleidoscopic patterns, designed to come to life in the susceptible eyes of drug takers, and to heighten their experience. Queuing to get in to a club or festival provides a build up to the event, building anticipation. Higher status guests and insiders skip queues that would often take over an hour to negotiate to enter a popular club. At Boom Festival in Portugal one year it took over ten hours to get into the festival site, due to the

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thousands of cars and single road. EDMC clothing and dancing styles have particular traditions, identifying those with what Thornton (1995) calls subcultural capital.

The term EDMC is often now used rather than Thornton's "club cultures", as it includes music festivals as well as indoor nightclub events, however it is the latter that I will principally refer to. Once an event is in full flow the dancefloor becomes highly ritualized. Different spaces are occupied by different groups, some dancers cluster next to the loudspeakers, the loudest position helping to drive their experiences. The exchange between strangers of water bottles, lip balm and other items helps to bond dancers together, especially in the musical breakdowns in tracks when dancing pauses. Participants may dance for hours, before taking a break, and as events progress spaces such as corridors of clubs are often filled with bodies sitting or lying, taking refuge from the intensity of dancing. The end of the night is again ritualized, lights coming on as the music concludes, participants leaving often in the early light of the morning, returning to one person's house to come down from the height of their experience, or going on to another event that will perpetuate the experience. This is particularly the case in Ibiza, a Mediterranean island holiday destination popular with clubbers, where in the summer huge nightclubs such as Amnesia and Pacha close in the early morning, at which point Space opens up, a club that carries on until the afternoon.

Many EDMC club and festival events share such characteristics and rituals, however each sub-form and micro-genre can have its own distinctive culture. Musical genres are what Fabbri (2012: 190) calls "sets of music events regulated by conventions accepted by a community". Some of these conventions within EDMC are focused principally on individualized listening appreciation of the music, such as is the case with electronica. For others the genre is set within a cultural experience, for example in hip hop, which has the associated rituals of breakdancing, turntablism, graffiti art and rapping. Some are focused on a simple hedonism, such as hardcore techno. All have their own rituals, whether surrounding listening, block parties or drug taking. Freed of modernity's antipathy toward all forms of religion, but inoculated against Christianity, yet often embedded within it, EDMC in general, and within EDMC trance music culture perhaps most of all, involve a peculiar and complex web of practices that illustrate how ritual has increasingly re-entered Western European culture, in technologically enabled post-secular forms.

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The Return of Ritual

Robert Jourdain (1997: 303-304) describes how music can have the effect of:

"transporting the brain to a higher than normal level of integraion. Music establishes flow in the brain, at once enlivening and coordinating the brain's activities, bringing its anticipations into step […] It lifts us from our frozen mental habits and makes our minds move in ways they ordinarily cannot. When we are embraced by well-written music, we experience understandings that outstrip those of our mundane existence, and that usually are beyond recollection once the music stops."

Describing consciousness Aldridge (2006: 10-11) states:

"At the heart of the word is a concept of mutuality, knowing with others. Our consciousness is a mutual activity, it is performed […] Making music together is an active way of changing consciousness that is embodied, which is why dance has been such a powerful medium for cultural and personal expression."

"Rhythm, pitch, loudness and timbre and their sound staging in the perceptive field of a person seem to […] induce altered states of consciousness. Repetition, long duration, monotony, increase and decrease of patterns, volume and density, high pitch and frequency ranges, rescaling of intensity units are observed with some trance phenomena […] rhythm remains the target for discussion for altered states of consciousness induction." (Fachner 2006: 36-7)

As Pilch (2006: 43) tells us "altered states of consciousness are universal human phenomena" and that only in the modern secular West has access to such states become uncommon. Becker (2004: 1) tells us that "the interpenetration of music with trancing is ancient and universal. I suspect that most, if not all, societies have some form of institutionalized, religious trance ceremonies that also include music." Becker (*ibid*.: 25) further states:

"Trancing is a profound mystery. You lose your strong sense of self, of ego, as you feel one with the music, you lose the sense of time passing, and may feel transported out of

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quotidian space. Trancers experience a kind of syncope, an absence, a lapse, a 'cerebral eclipse'. Syncope is sometimes viewed as a manifestation of a divine blessing, or a demonic possession, or as a pathology and called a dissociation."

In contemporary European culture since the enlightenment and reformation, Christian-led cultures of belief moved away from ritual because "believing the right things came to be more important than making the right ritual actions, and, whereas right ritual could be delegated to others, right belief could not" (Bruce 1996: 3). Within modernities ritual was seen as a throwback to outdated supernatural superstitions. As postmodernities have shown that single mechanistic or all-encompassing meta-narratives cannot command a monopoly on truth, re-enchanted post-secular cultures have begun to rediscover the roles ritual can play. These include a role as powerful technology that can facilitate not only embodied understandings of complex issues but also individual and communal transcendent experiences that can explore those subjects such as emotions and instincts that are difficult to explore using words alone.

As Western society has become increasingly individualized, popular music has provided cultures and audiences with opportunities for belonging without believing. In traditional cultures, "when every birth, marriage and death in generation after generation was celebrated and marked with the same rituals in the same building, then the religion that legitimated those rituals was powerful and pervasive because it was woven into the life of the village" (*ibid.*: 4).

At music festivals, ritual activities are much like this, the Glastonbury Festival has now been happening most years since 1975, and similar popular music festivals have been regular occurrences in the UK (and more widely) since the Woodstock festival in 1969 in the US. Rather than events that are marked by communal rituals involving participants selected by the geography and lineage of birth, these ritual celebrations are built around popular music culture, which is likewise legitimated as a powerful and pervasive force woven into the life of the global village.

EDMC trance ritual events are especially powerful, as they involve participants who have to gain subcultural capital (Thornton 1995) in order to gain access to participation in the rituals. These participants are bonded together through a preference for a particular sub-genre of EDMC, and through participation in drug induced trance practices that are placed outside of mainstream culture through the illegality of the drugs involved. Events are regular, for some weekly, for most monthly, rather than

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focused on for example annual special events such as festivals, and are perhaps more akin to regular church-going, and regular religious practice, than the less frequent music festivals. Significantly participants are a community that has chosen to participate together with no requirements placed on them, ritual is not acting to bond them together in order to maintain society, or as some kind of expected societal practice.

This is a popular cultural activity, developing within postmodernity, and is focused on belonging. As discussed already, postmodernity has been described as inspiring a re-enchantment of Western European culture (Gablik 1991: 167-183; Partridge 2005). Rituals set within a sacred popular are emerging within a globalized technoculture, developing community in a world where traditional methods of inculcating a sense of belonging are fractured or dissolving, as a response to a need within humanity that is evidenced by the wide range of ritual traditions discussed elsewhere in this volume. Many of the other chapters in this volume relate to archaeology of ancient historic cultures, and as a result it is difficult for them to suggest exactly what the rituals would been like that surrounded the material culture under consideration. Studying the rituals of today allows us some insight into the rituals of the past, providing especially the opportunity for embodied, experiential or phenomenological understandings of how music and ritual interact. This can allow us to explore approaches such as non-representational theories (NRTs) (Thrift 2007; Dewsbury 2003) which enable a multidisciplinary approach to take us beyond binary opposites, as well as beyond the limits of understanding imposed by a modern culture and mindset.

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